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I am a heritage because I bring you years of thought and the lore of time ~ I impart yet I can not speak ~ I have traveled among the peoples of the earth ~ I am a rover ~ Oft-times I stray from the fireside of the one who loves and cherishes me - who misses me when I am gone ~ Should you find me vagrant please send me home - among my brothers - on the book shelves of .....

ALFRED SANTELL

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VOLUME XXV

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VOLTAIRE

ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

VOL. II

GERMANY, 1056—ENGLAND, 1400

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ANCIENT AND MODERN HISTORY.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE EMPIRE OF ITALY — EMPEROR HENRY IV. AND POPE GREGORY VII.— ROME AND THE EMPIRE IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY.

It is now time to return to the ruins of Rome, and that shadow of the throne of the Cæsars, which began to appear again in Germany.

It was yet uncertain who was to reign in Rome, or what was to be the fate of Italy. The German emperors thought themselves by right masters of the whole western empire: and yet they were scarcely sovereigns in Germany, where the great feudal governments of the lords and bishops began to take deep root. The Norman princes, who had conquered Apulia and Calabria, formed a new power. The Venetians had, by their example, inspired all the great towns of Italy with the love of liberty and independence. The popes were not yet sovereigns, but wanted to be so.

1056 — The right of the emperors to nominate the popes began to be established; but it is easy to

see that the first favorable circumstance might give a sudden turn to affairs. This soon occurred under the minority of the emperor Henry IV., who was, in the lifetime of his father, Henry III., acknowledged as his successor.

Even in the time of this last emperor the imperial authority began to decline in Italy. His sister, the countess or duchess of Tuscany, mother of that true benefactress of the popes, the countess Mathilda d'Este, contributed more than anyone to stir up Italy against her brother. Together with the marquisate of Mantua, she possessed Tuscany and a part of Lombardy. Having had the imprudence to come to the German court, they detained her a considerable time, a prisoner there. Her daughter, the countess Mathilda, inherited her ambition, and hatred to the imperial house.

During the minority of Henry IV., many popes were made by intrigues, money, and civil dissensions. At length, in 1061, Alexander II. was elected, without the imperial court being consulted. That court in vain nominated another pope: its interest was on the decline in Italy; Alexander II. carried his point, and obliged his competitor to leave Rome.

Though Henry IV., upon attaining his majority, saw himself emperor of Italy and Germany, yet he was much circumscribed in his power. Part of the secular and ecclesiastical princes of his own country entered into cabals against him; and it is well known that he had no way of being master

of Italy except at the head of a powerful army. His power was trifling, but his courage was superior to his fortune.

1073 — Some authors relate that, being accused in the Diet of Würzburg of having intended to assassinate the dukes of Suabia and Carinthia, he offered to fight the accuser, who was only a simple gentleman. The day was fixed for the combat, and the accuser not appearing, the emperor was acquitted of the charge.

As soon as the authority of a prince comes to be disputed, an attack is generally made on his morals. Henry was publicly reproached with having mistresses, while the meanest priest was suffered to keep them with impunity. He wanted to be divorced from his wife, the daughter of a marquis of Ferrara, with whom he pretended he had never been able to consummate his marriage. Some little irregularities of his youth contributed to sour the minds of the people still more, and his conduct had weakened his power.

There was at that time at Rome a monk of Cluny, lately made a cardinal, a man of a restless, fiery, and enterprising disposition, and one who knew very well, upon occasion, how to join artifice to an ardent zeal for the pretensions of the Church. Hildebrand was the name of this daring man, who afterwards came to be the famous pope, Gregory VII. He was born at Soana, in Tuscany, of obscure parents; was brought up at Rome, received into

the order of the Monks of Cluny, under the abbot Odilon; and, being deputed to Rome upon some affairs of his order, was afterwards employed by the popes in all affairs which required dexterity and resolution; and began already to distinguish himself in Italy by an intrepid and violent zeal. The public voice declared him the successor of Alexander II., under whose pontificate he governed everything. The various characters, favorable and unfavorable, which so many writers have given us of this Gregory, may be found in a picture which a Neapolitan painter drew of him, in which he was represented with a shepherd's crook in one hand, and a whip in the other, trampling upon sceptres; and by his side St. Peter's nets and fish.

Gregory engaged Pope Alexander to strike an unheard-of blow, in summoning young Henry to appear at Rome before the tribunal of the holy see. This was the first example of so signal an exploit; and in what times was it hazarded? When Rome had been accustomed by Henry III., the father of this very Henry, to receive her bishops at the sole command of the emperor. Now it was precisely this mark of servitude which Gregory aimed at throwing off; and to prevent the emperors from giving laws in Rome, he resolved that the pope should give laws to the emperor. This bold step was attended with no consequence at that time. In all this affair Alexander II. seems like a forlorn hope despatched by Hildebrand, against the empire

before he would venture to give it battle. The death of Alexander followed soon after this first act of hostility.

1073 — Upon the demise of this pontiff, Hildebrand had credit enough to get himself elected and installed by the people of Rome, without waiting for the emperor's permission. But he soon after obtained it, upon promising to be faithful to his interests; and Henry, accepting his excuses, sent his chancellor to Italy to confirm his election at Rome. Upon this occasion, the emperor being cautioned by his courtiers to beware of Gregory, publicly declared that this pope could never be ungrateful to his benefactor; but no sooner was Gregory settled in the papal chair than he declared he would excommunicate all who should receive benefices from laymen, and every layman who should presume for the future to confer them. He had formed a design of depriving all lay patrons of the right of presentation to church livings. This was engaging the Church in an open quarrel with the sovereigns of all nations. The violent temper of this pontiff broke out at the same time against Philip I., king of France. The affair related to some Italian merchants who had been ransomed by the French. The pope wrote a circular letter to the bishops of France, in which he delivers himself thus: "Your king is rather a tyrant than a king; he spends his days in infamy and vice;" and imme-

diately upon these indiscreet expressions follow the usual threats of excommunication.

1075 — Not long after, while Henry was engaged in a war with the Saxons, the pope sent two legates to him, with a summons to come and answer to the charge of having granted the investiture of benefices, and threatening him with excommunication, in case of non-compliance. The two legates who brought this strange summons delivered their message just as the emperor had obtained a complete victory over the Saxons, and had returned crowned with glory, and more powerful than they expected. It is easy to conceive with what indignation a young emperor of twenty-five, victorious, and jealous of his dignity, must have received such an embassy: yet he did not inflict any exemplary punishment on the deputies, the prejudices of those times not allowing such a step; he contented himself with treating this piece of insolence with the contempt it deserved, and left these indiscreet legates to the insults of the servants attending his court.

1076 — Almost at the same time this pope also excommunicated the Norman princes of Apulia and Calabria — mentioned in the thirteenth chapter. So many excommunications following one another would in these times be looked upon as the height of folly and imprudence; but it should be considered that, when Gregory issued his menaces against the king of France, he addressed his bull to the duke of Aquitaine, that king's vassal, who was

nearly as powerful as the king himself; that when he broke out against the emperor, he had a part of Italy on his side, together with the countess Mathilda, Rome, and half of Germany; and that, as to the Normans, they were then his declared enemies; so that, on the whole, Gregory's behavior will appear rather the effect of an insolent and overbearing temper, than of rashness or folly. He was sensible that in endeavoring to set up his own dignity above that of the emperor, and all other crowned heads, he should have all the other churches on his side, who would be proud of a head who knew so well how to pull down every superior power: and his design was not only to throw off the yoke of the emperors, but at the same time to bring Rome, the emperors and kings in general, under the papal dominion. This project was such a one as might have cost him his life, and he could expect no other result; but the greater the danger the greater the glory.

Henry had too much business on his hands in Germany to suffer him to go over to Italy; and his first step seemed rather that of an Italian lord than an emperor of Germany. Instead of employing a general and an army, he is said to have made use of a ruffian named Cencius, famous for his robberies, who seized upon the pope in the church of St. Mary Maggior, at the very time he was celebrating divine service. Some resolute fellows, his accomplices, gave the pontiff several wounds, and hurrying him

away, shut him up in a tower of which Cencius had the possession.

Henry acted more in the character of a prince, in calling a council at Worms, consisting of bishops, abbots, and doctors, in which he deposed the pope; and the sentence was agreed to by all present, except two. But this council wanted troops to make its decisions respected at Rome. Henry only lessened his authority by writing to the pope that he had deposed him, and to the people in Rome, forbidding them any longer to acknowledge Gregory as their pontiff.

As soon as the pope received these insignificant letters, he addressed himself in these words to a council he summoned upon the occasion: "In the name of almighty God, and by your authority, I prohibit Henry, the son of our Emperor Henry, from governing the Germanic kingdom, and Italy. I release all Christians from their oath of allegiance to him; and strictly forbid all persons from serving or attending him as king." This is well known to be the first instance of a pope's pretending to deprive a sovereign of his crown. We have already seen Louis the Débonnaire deposed by his bishops; but there was at least some excuse for that step. They condemned Louis in appearance only to do public penance; and no one had since the first founding of the Church, presumed to talk in the same strain as Gregory. The circular letters written by this pontiff breathe the same spirit as his sen-

tence of deposition. He there repeats several times that "bishops are superior to kings, and made to judge them;" expressions alike artful and presumptuous, and calculated to bring all the churchmen of the world to his standard.

There is the greatest probability that when Gregory thus deposed his sovereign only by pronouncing a few words, he knew very well that he had in his favor the civil wars of Germany, which began to break out anew with the greatest fury. A bishop of Utrecht, who had been greatly instrumental in Gregory's condemnation, being stricken with a sudden and painful illness, of which he died, repented, it is said, upon his death-bed of what he had done, as an act of sacrilege. This repentance of the bishop, whether true or false, imposed on the people. These were no longer the times when Germany was united under the Othos. Henry saw himself surrounded near Spires by the army of the confederates, who availed themselves of the pope's bull. The feudal government which then prevailed in Germany, naturally produced such revolutions. Each German prince was jealous of the imperial power, as the higher nobility of France were of their king. The flame of civil war still lay smothering, and a bull properly worded was sufficient to set it into a blaze.

The confederate princes granted Henry his liberty, only on condition that he should live as a private person, and under sentence of excommuni-

cation at Spires, without exercising any function either of a Christian or a king, till the pope came to preside at a diet of princes and bishops, to be assembled at Augsburg, and by whom he was to be tried.

It is certain that those princes who had a right to choose the emperor had a right to depose him; but to make the pope president of the council appointed for trying him was in fact to acknowledge the pontiff as the supreme judge of both emperor and empire. This was the victory of Gregory and of the popedom; and Henry, reduced to these extremities, still added to the triumph.

Willing to prevent this fatal trial at Augsburg, he took an unheard-of resolution, in suddenly passing the Alps in Tyrol, with a few domestics, to present himself to ask absolution of the pope. Gregory was then with the countess Mathilda in the town of Canossa, the ancient Canusium, on the Apennines, near Reggio, a fortress in those times deemed impregnable. This emperor, so celebrated for his victories, presents himself at the gates of the fortress without either guards or attendants. They stopped him in the inner court, stripped him of his clothes, and put on him a haircloth.

1077 — In this condition, and barefooted, he was permitted to remain in the court, though it was then the month of January. They afterwards made him fast three days before he was admitted to kiss the pope's feet, who all that time was shut up with

the countess Mathilda, whose spiritual director he had long been. It is not at all surprising that this pope's enemies should have reproached him for his conduct with regard to the countess. It is true he was an old man of seventy-two years of age; but then he was a spiritual director, and Mathilda was a weak young woman. The devout language which we find in the pope's letters to this princess, compared with the violence of his ambition, might tempt one to believe that he made use of religion for a mask to all his passions: but, on the other hand, we have not a single fact or circumstance to authorize such suspicions. The hypocritical debauchee has neither the settled enthusiasm nor the intrepid zeal of Gregory, whose great austerity made him so very dangerous.

At length the emperor was permitted to throw himself at the pontiff's feet, who deigned to grant him absolution, but not till he had sworn to wait for his solemn decision at the Diet of Augsburg, and to be perfectly obedient to him in all things. Some bishops and German lords of the emperor's party made the same submission. Gregory, then looking upon himself, and not without reason, as the lord and master of all the crowned heads of the earth, said in several of his letters that it was his duty to pull down the pride of kings.

The people of Lombardy, who still held out for the emperor, were so incensed at his mean submission, that they were on the point of deserting him.

Gregory was more hated by them than even in Germany. Happily for the emperor, their detestation of the pope's arrogance overbalanced their indignation at his meanness. Henry turned this to his advantage; and, by a change of fortune hitherto unknown to the German emperors, he met with a strong party in Italy, when he was abandoned in Germany. All Lombardy took up arms against the pope, while he on his side was raising all Germany against the emperor.

1078 — On the one hand the pope made use of every art to get another emperor elected in Germany, and Henry left nothing undone to persuade the Italians to choose another pope. The Germans chose Rudolph, duke of Suabia; upon which Gregory wrote that he would determine between Henry and Rudolph, and give the crown to him who would show the most submission to his authority. Henry, however, trusted more to his troops than to the decision of the holy father; but meeting with some ill successes, the pope growing more insolent, excommunicated him a second time, in 1080. "I deprive Henry of his crown," says he, "and bestow the empire of Germany on Rudolph:" and to make the world believe that he really had the disposal of empires, he made a present to Rudolph of a golden crown on which this verse was engraved:

Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho.

"The rock gave Peter the crown, and Peter gives it to Rudolph."

This verse at once contains a wretched pun, and an affectation of haughtiness, which were equally the taste of those times.

1080 — In the meantime Henry's party began to gather strength in Germany; and this very prince, who, clad in haircloth and barefooted, had waited three days at the mercy of one whom he looked upon as his subject, now took two resolutions which were more noble. One was to depose the pope, and the other to give battle to his competitor. Accordingly, he assembled about twenty bishops at Brixen, in the county of Tyrol, who, acting at the same time for the prelates of Lombardy, proceeded to excommunicate and depose Gregory VII. "for being a supporter of tyrants, and an encourager of simony, sacrilege, and magic." After this they proceeded to the election of a new pope, and chose Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna; and while this new pope hastens into Lombardy, to stir up the people against Gregory, Henry, at the head of an army, marches against his rival, Rudolph. Was it excess of enthusiasm, or what we call a pious fraud, that induced Gregory at that time to prophesy that Henry would be defeated and slain in this war? "I am not pope," says he in his letter to the German bishops of his party, "if this does not fall out before St. Peter's day." Everyone in his right senses knows that none but a fool or an impostor would pretend to foretell what is to come: but let us consider the errors which at that time had possession of the minds

of mankind. The learned in all ages have been addicted to judicial astrology. Gregory was reproached with having put faith in the predictions of astrologers; and the act of deposition made against him at Brixen says: "He dealt in divinations, and interpreting dreams;" and on this foundation they accused him of magic: he has likewise been called an impostor, on account of his false and odd kind of prediction above-mentioned, while perhaps he was at the worst but a credulous man.

This prediction of his, however, fell upon his own creature, Rudolph, whom he was so proud of having made an emperor, he being defeated, and afterwards slain by Godfrey of Bouillon, nephew of the countess Mathilda, and the same who made the conquest of Jerusalem. Who would imagine that the pope should then, instead of making advances to Henry, write to the German bishops: "They should proceed to the election of a new emperor, on condition of his yielding homage to the pope, and acknowledging himself his vassal." These letters plainly show that there was still a very powerful party against Henry in Germany.

At this very time it was, that the pope ordered his legates in France to demand a yearly tribute of a silver denier for every house, in like manner as was done in England.

Spain was treated in a still more despotic manner by him; for he pretended to be lord paramount of the whole kingdom, and says in his sixteenth epistle:

"It is much better it should belong to the Saracens than not do homage to the holy see."

He wrote thus to Solomon, king of Hungary, a country which had at that time hardly embraced Christianity: "You may learn from the elders of your country that the kingdom of Hungary belongs to the Church of Rome."

Enterprises of this nature, however rash they may seem to us, are always the necessary consequences of the reigning opinions of the times; and undoubtedly the ignorance which prevailed in these ages made it the general belief that the Church was the mistress of kingdoms, or the pope would never have ventured to write always in this style.

His inflexibility toward Henry was not likewise without foundation. He had gained such an ascendancy over the countess Mathilda, that she made an authentic donation of her territories to the holy see, only reserving the enjoyment of them for her natural life. It is not known whether this concession was made by a public act, or by a private deed between the two parties. The custom at that time was, when anyone made a donation of their goods or territories to the Church, to place a lump of earth upon the altar; and, instead of a deed, there were witnesses present on both sides. It is said that Mathilda made two several donations of her effects to the see of Rome.

The validity of this donation, confirmed afterward by her will, was never disputed by her nephew

Henry, and still remains the most authentic title of any claimed by the popes; but yet this very title proved a fresh subject of dispute. The countess possessed Tuscany, Mantua, Parma, Reggio, Placentia, Ferrara, Modena, a part of Umbria, and the duchy of Spoleto, Verona, almost the whole of what is now called St. Peter's Patrimony, reaching from Viterbo as far as Orvieto, together with a part of the march of Ancona.

Henry III. had given this march of Ancona to the popes; but this did not prevent the countess Mathilda's mother from taking possession of the towns which she thought belonged to her. It seems as if Mathilda was desirous of making reparation after her death for the injury she had done to the holy see during her lifetime: but it was not in her power to give away the inalienable fiefs; and the emperors pretended that her whole patrimony was a fief belonging to the empire. Therefore this was in effect leaving territories to be conquered, and making a legacy of continual wars. Henry IV., as heir, and lord paramount, looked upon this donation as an absolute violation of the rights of the empire: however, in the end, he was obliged to yield a part of those territories to the holy see.

1083 — Henry, still continuing his vengeance, came at length before Rome, and laid siege to it; and made himself master of the part of the town on this side the Tiber, called the Leonina; but while he was menacing the pope, he entered into negoti-

ation with the citizens, and gained over the principal ones to his party by money. The people threw themselves at Gregory's feet, beseeching him to avert the miseries of a siege, by making concessions to the emperor. The intrepid pontiff replied that the emperor must do penance once more, if he expected absolution.

The siege proved a long one; for Henry could not carry it on constantly in person, being obliged to pass over into Germany to put a stop to some insurrections there: but at length he took the city by assault. It is very singular that the emperors had so often made themselves masters of Rome, and yet never chose to reside there. Gregory, however, was not yet taken, having retired into the castle of St. Angelo, whence he defied and excommunicated his conqueror.

Rome smarted severely for the resoluteness of her pontiff. Robert Guiscard, duke of Apulia, one of those famous Normans of whom I have already spoken, took advantage of the emperor's absence to come to the pope's relief; but at the same time he plundered Rome; and that unhappy city was ravaged at once by the imperial troops, who kept the pope besieged, and by the Neapolitans, who came to deliver him. Gregory VII. died some time afterwards at Salerno, May 24, 1085, leaving behind him a memory dear and respected by the Roman clergy, who inherited his pride, but detested by the emperors, and by every good citizen who reflects

upon the fatal effects of his inflexible ambition. The Church, of whose cause he was at once the avenger and the victim, has placed him among her saints, in the same manner as the ancient nations were wont to deify their protectors and defenders.

The countess Mathilda, having lost Gregory, soon after married the young Prince Guelph, son of Guelph, duke of Bavaria: she now saw all the folly of her late donation; she was about forty-two years of age, and might yet have had children, who must have been left heirs to a civil war.

The death of Gregory did not, however, extinguish the flames which his ambition had raised. His successors would not submit their elections to the approbation of the emperors; the Church being so far from thinking of paying homage that she exacted it of everyone; and an emperor, when excommunicated, was no longer looked upon as a human being. A monk, abbot of Monte Cassino, was chosen successor to the monk Hildebrand, and in everything resembled him, but his reign was very short; and he was succeeded by Urban II., a Frenchman, of mean extraction, who held the see for eleven years, and was another implacable enemy to the emperor.

It is clear to me that the true foundation of these disputes was, that the popes and Roman people were not for having any emperors of Rome; and the pretence they made use of as a holy one was, that the popes, as guardians of the rights of the Church,

could not suffer secular princes to perform the investiture of bishops with the crosier and ring. It is certain that the bishops were subject to their princes, and received their rights from them; and therefore owed them a homage for the territories they held by their bounty. The emperors and kings did not pretend to confer the gift of the Holy Spirit, but they expected homage from the temporalities they conferred. The formality of the crosier and ring was only an accidental part of the principal point; but it happened here, as it does in almost all disputes, that the foundation was neglected, and they laid the whole stress upon an indifferent ceremony.

Henry IV., constantly excommunicated and persecuted on this pretence by every pope in his time, experienced all the miseries that civil or religious wars could produce. Urban II. stirred up his own son, Conrad, against him, and, after the death of this unnatural son, his brother, who was afterwards Henry V., made war against his father. This was the second time since Charlemagne that the popes had armed the hands of children against their parents.

1106 — Henry IV., betrayed by his son, Henry, as Louis the Débonnaire had been by his children, was shut up in Mentz; whither two legates came from the pope to depose him; and two deputies sent from the Diet by his son, divested him of the imperial robes.

Soon after, having made his escape from prison, he wandered up and down, poor and friendless, and died at length at Liège, in a more miserable and obscure condition than his adversary, Gregory VII., after having so long attracted the eyes of all Europe by his victories, his grandeur, his misfortunes, his vices, and virtues. When he was upon his death-bed, he cried out: "Just God, thou wilt avenge me on this parricide." It has been believed in all ages, that God hears the curses of the dying, and especially those of parents; an error which would be useful and deserving of respect, did it prove the means of putting a stop to crimes. But another error has prevailed more generally among us, namely, that of believing all excommunicated persons to be damned. Henry's son put the finishing stroke to his unnatural hypocrisy and impiety, by causing his father's body, under a shocking pretence of religious scruples, to be taken out of the grave where it was buried, in the cathedral-church of Liège, and carried to a cave in Spires.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

THE EMPEROR HENRY V. AND ROME UNTIL THE TIME OF FREDERICK I., CALLED BARBAROSSA.

This Henry V., who, armed with the pope's bull, had dethroned his father, and afterwards dug him out of his grave, maintained the same prerogatives

as his father against the Church, as soon as he came to be in possession of the empire.

The popes had already found out the secret of sheltering themselves against the emperors under the kings of France. It is true, the pretensions of the see of Rome struck at the authority of all sovereigns; but then the popes knew how to manage by treaties those whom they insulted by their bulls. The kings of France had no pretensions upon Rome, and were only jealous of the Germans, who were their neighbors; this, therefore, made them natural allies of the popes. On this account, Paschal II. went to France to implore the assistance of Philip I., in which he was afterwards imitated by many of his successors. The pope, notwithstanding the territories which the see of Rome possessed, the pretended donations of Emperors Pepin and Charlemagne, and the real one of Countess Mathilda, was not yet become a powerful prince; almost every foot of these territories was either contested, or in the actual possession of others. The emperor, not without reason, maintained that Mathilda's territories ought to revert to him as a fief of the empire; so that the popes were engaged both in a spiritual and a temporal quarrel. Paschal II. could obtain nothing more of King Philip than a permission to hold a council at Troyes, in 1107, the French government being then too weak, and too much divided to assist him with troops.

Henry V., having, after a short war, concluded

a treaty of peace with the Poles, found means to engage the princes of the empire in the support of his rights; and those very princes who had assisted him to dethrone his father, in compliance with the pope's bulls, now joined with him to cause those bulls to be annulled in Rome.

1111 — Upon this he passed the Alps with a powerful army; and Rome was once more drenched in blood for this quarrel of the crosier and the ring. Treaties, perjuries, excommunications, and murders followed each other in rapid succession. Paschal, having solemnly given up the investitures in the emperor's favor, and ratified it on the Holy Gospels, made the cardinals afterwards abrogate his oath, a new manner of breaking a promise; and suffered himself to be treated in full council as a coward, and a prevaricator, in order to be compelled to retract what he had so solemnly given. This caused the emperor to make a second expedition against Rome; for the German Cæsars seldom went thither but upon ecclesiastical disputes, the principal of which was about the ceremony of the coronation.

1122 — At length Henry V., after having created, deposed, banished, and recalled several popes, and having been as often excommunicated as his father, and like him disturbed by his great vassals in Germany, was obliged to put an end to the war about investitures, and give up the point of the crosier and the ring; and he gave up still more; for, by

a solemn act, he forever renounced the right, which had been always claimed by the emperors and the kings of France, of nominating to vacant bishoprics, or, at least, of interposing their authority in such manner at the elections, as made them absolute masters of the choice.

It was determined then in a council held at Rome, that kings should no longer grant investitures to those canonically chosen, by giving a crooked staff, but by a ring; and the acts of this council were ratified by the emperor in Germany, and thus finished this bloody and ridiculous war. But at the same time that the council decided so methodically the kind of staff with which bishoprics were to be granted, they took especial care not to touch upon the questions of whether the emperor had a right to nominate to the see of Rome; whether the pope was his vassal; and whether the great possessions of Countess Mathilda belonged to the Church, or to the empire. It seemed as if they kept these in reserve, as fresh fuel to a new war.

1125 — After the death of Henry V., who left no issue, the empire, being still elective, was conferred by the votes of ten electors on a prince of the house of Saxony, named Lotharius II. There were much fewer intrigues and quarrels about the imperial throne than about the papal chair; for although in a council held by Pope Nicholas II., in 1059, it had been decreed that the pope should be elected by the cardinal bishops, yet there had been

no set form, nor certain rule established as yet in these elections. This essential defect in the church government was owing to an institution in itself respectable. The primitive Christians, who were all equally obscure and united among themselves, owing to fear of the magistrates, governed in secret their humble and holy society by a plurality of voices. Riches having in process of time succeeded to their original indigence, nothing remained of the primitive church but this popular liberty, which not infrequently grew into licence. The cardinals, bishops, priests, and clergy who composed the pope's council, had a great share in the election; but the rest of the clergy wanted also to enjoy their ancient right; the people, too, looked upon their suffrages as necessary; and the emperors thought that all these votes put together signified nothing without their assent.

1130 — Peter of Leon, grandson of a wealthy Jew, was elected by a faction, and Innocent II. by another. This occasioned a new civil war; the Jew's son, as being the richer, kept possession of Rome, and was protected by Roger, king of Sicily; his competitor, being more artful, and more fortunate, was acknowledged in France and Germany.

And here occurs a historical fact which is by no means to be passed over. This Innocent II., in order to gain the emperor's suffrage, yields to him and his children the usufruct of all the territories of the late countess Mathilda, by a deed dated

June 13, 1133. At length Peter, whom they called the Jewish pope, dying, after a reign of eight years, Innocent II. remained in quiet possession of the see of Rome; and there followed a truce of some years between the emperor and pontificate; the madness after crusades, which was then at its height, drawing the minds of people another way.

Rome, however, was not yet quiet. The ancient love of liberty continued from time to time to show itself: several cities of Italy had taken advantage of the troubles to form themselves into republics; these were Florence, Sienna, Bologna, Milan, and Pavia. They had before their eyes the great examples of Genoa, Venice, and Pisa; and Rome still remembered that she had been the city of the great Scipios. The people restored the shadow of a senate, which the cardinals had abolished, and created a patrician in the room of the two consuls.

1144 — This new senate signified to Pope Lucius II. that the sovereignty resided in the people of Rome; and that the bishop ought to concern himself only about the Church.

The members who composed this senate having intrenched themselves in the capitol, Pope Lucius besieged them there in person; but was wounded in the head with a stone, of which he died in a few days.

At this time Arnold of Brescia, one of those enthusiastic persons who are dangerous to themselves and to the rest of mankind, went from town

to town preaching against the exorbitant riches and luxury of the clergy: he at length came to Rome, where he found the minds of the people disposed to listen to him; he had conceived the idle notion of reforming the popes, and contributing to make the Church of Rome free. Eugene III., formerly a monk of Citeaux, and of Clairvaux, was at that time pope. To this pope, St. Bernard thus writes: "Beware of the Romans, they are hateful to heaven and earth, impious towards God, and seditious among themselves: jealous of their neighbors, and cruel towards strangers: they love no one, nor are they beloved of any one; and, desirous of making the world fear them, they are afraid of all the world." If we compare these antitheses of St. Bernard with the lives of many of the popes, we shall readily excuse a people, who, bearing the name of Romans, endeavored to have no master.

Pope Eugene III. had the address to bring these people back to his yoke, who had been accustomed to that of so many others. But Arnold of Brescia, in reward for his preachings, was burned at Rome during the papacy of Adrian IV., and thus met the usual fate of reformers who have more indiscretion than power.

I think I should observe, in this place, that Adrian IV., who was an Englishman by birth, arrived at this pitch of grandeur from the most abject of all conditions. He was the son of a beggar, and had been a beggar himself, strolling about from country

to country before he could obtain favor to be received as a servant among the monks of Valence in Dauphiny; and from these low beginnings he raised himself to be pope.

Our sentiments generally tally with our present fortunes. This Adrian was so much the more haughty as he arose from the most abject condition. The Romish Church has always had the advantage of giving that to merit which in other countries is given only to birth; and it may even be observed, that those among the popes who have shown the most haughtiness, were they who raised themselves from the meanest beginnings. There are at present convents in Germany where they admit none but persons of noble birth; the Roman spirit has more grandeur, and less vanity.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA.

1152 — At that time reigned in Germany Frederick I., named Barbarossa, who was elected after the death of his uncle, Conrad III., not only by the German electors, but by the Lombards also, who on this occasion gave their votes. Frederick was a prince in all respects equal to Otho and Charlemagne. He was obliged to go to Rome to take the imperial crown, which the popes bestowed with haughtiness and regret, wanting to crown him as a vassal, and vexed to receive him as a master. This

ambiguous situation of the popes, the emperors, the Roman people, and the principal towns of Italy always occasioned the effusion of blood at every coronation of a new emperor. It was the custom, that when the emperor drew near to Rome in order to be crowned, the pope intrenched himself, the people stood on their guard, and all Italy was up in arms. The emperor then promised that he would attempt nothing against the life, the person, nor the honor of the pope, the cardinals, nor the magistrates.

A knight, completely armed, took his oath upon the cross, in the name of Frederick. The pope then went to meet the emperor some miles from Rome; the Roman ceremonial required that the emperor should prostrate himself before the pope and kiss his feet, hold his stirrup, and lead the holy father's white palfrey by the bridle the distance of nine Roman paces. It was not thus, however, that the popes used to receive Charlemagne. Frederick looked upon this ceremony as an insult, and refused to submit to it: upon this refusal all the cardinals fled, as if this prince had been guilty of a sacrilege, which was the signal of a civil war. But the Roman chancery, which kept a register of everything of this kind, made him sensible that his predecessors had always complied with these ceremonies. I question whether any other emperor but Lotharius II., successor to Henry V., had led the pope's horse by the bridle. The ceremony of kissing his feet,

which was the established custom, did not hurt Frederick's pride; but he could not bear that of holding the stirrup and the bridle, looking upon it as an innovation. However, his pride at length digested these two supposed affronts, which he construed only as empty marks of Christian humility, but which the court of Rome reckoned as proofs of real subjection.

The deputies of the Roman people had grown so insolent, since almost all the other cities of Italy had rung the alarm of liberty, that they wanted to stipulate on their side with the emperor; but upon beginning their harangue in these terms: "Great king, we have made you our fellow-citizen and our prince, from the foreigner that you were before." The emperor, wearied out with such repeated insolences, silenced them, and told them in plain terms: "Rome is no longer what she was; nor is it true that it is you who have called me to be your prince. Charlemagne and Otho conquered you by their valor, and I am your master by right of possession." With these words he sent them back, and was inaugurated without the walls of the city by the pope, who put the sceptre into his hand, and the crown on his head on June 18, 1155.

At that time they knew so little of what the empire really was, and their several pretensions were so contradictory to each other, that on the one hand the Roman people mutinied, and there was a great deal of blood spilled, because the pope had crowned

the emperor without the consent of the senate and the people; and on the other hand, Pope Adrian, by all his letters, declared that he had conferred the benefice of the Roman Empire on Frederick; *"Beneficium imperii Romani;"* this word *beneficium* literally signified a fief. Moreover, he publicly exhibited in Rome a picture of the emperor Lotharius II. on his knees before Pope Alexander II., holding both his hands joined between those of the pontiff, which was the distinguishing mark of vassalage; and on it was this inscription: *"Rex venit ante fores, jurans prius urbis honores: Post homo fit papæ, sumit quo dante coronam."*—"The king appears at the gate and swears to maintain the honor of Rome, and he becomes the pope's vassal, who grants him the crown."

Frederick, who was then at Besançon, hearing these proceedings and having expressed his displeasure at them, a cardinal then present made answer: "Of whom, then, does he hold the empire but of the pope?" Otho, count palatine, was so enraged at this insolent speech that he was on the point of running him through the body with the imperial sword which he held in his hand. The cardinal immediately fled, and the pope entered into a treaty. The Germans at that time cut all disputes short with the sword, and the court of Rome sheltered itself in the ambiguity of its expressions.

Roger, conqueror of the Mussulmans in Sicily, and of the Christians in Naples, had obtained the investi-

ture of those countries by kissing the feet of Pope Urban II., who reduced the service or duty to six hundred gold *besants,* or *squisates,* a coin in value about a pistole. Pope Adrian IV. when besieged by William in 1156, gave up to him several ecclesiastical pretensions. He even consented that Sicily should never have any legate, nor be subject to an appeal to the see of Rome, except when the king pleased. Ever since that time the kings of Sicily, though the only princes that are vassals of the pope, are, as it were, popes themselves in that island. The Roman pontiffs, thus adored and abused, somewhat resembled, if I may use the expression, the idols which the Indians beat to obtain favors from them.

Adrian, however, fully revenged himself upon other kings who stood in need of him. He wrote thus to King Henry II. of England: "There is no doubt, and you know it very well, that Ireland, and all the islands that have received the faith, appertain to the Church of Rome. Now, if you want to take possession of that island, in order to banish vice therefrom, to enforce an observance of the laws, and with an intent of paying the yearly tribute of St. Peter's penny for every house, we with pleasure grant you your request."

If I may make some reflections in this historical essay of the world, I cannot help observing that it is very strangely governed. An English beggar, become bishop of Rome, bestows Ireland by his own

authority on a man who wants to usurp it. The popes had carried on more than one war about the investiture by the crosier and ring; and Adrian sends Henry II. a ring as a mark of the investiture of Ireland. If a king had given a ring upon conferring a prebendary, he would have been guilty of sacrilege.

1158 — The intrepid activity of Frederick Barbarossa was but barely able to subdue the popes who disputed the empire; Rome, which refused to acknowledge a master, and all the cities of Italy which stood up for their liberty. He had at the same time the Bohemians to repress, who had mutinied against him, and the Poles, with whom he was at war; yet all this did he effect. He conquered Poland, and erected it into a tributary kingdom. He quelled the tumults in Bohemia, which had already been erected into a kingdom by Henry IV., in 1086; and it is said that the king of Denmark received the investiture of his dominions from him. He secured the fidelity of the princes of the empire by rendering himself formidable to foreign nations, and flew back to Italy, who founded her hopes of liberty on the troubles and perplexities of this prince. On his arrival he found everything in confusion, not so much from the efforts of the several cities to recover their liberty, as from that party fury, which, as I have already observed, constantly prevailed at the elections of popes.

1160 — Adrian IV. dying, two opposite factions

tumultuously elected the two persons known by the names of Victor II. and Alexander III. The emperor's allies necessarily acknowledged the pope chosen by him; and the princes, who were jealous of the emperor, acknowledged the other. What was the shame and scandal of Rome then became the signal of division over all Europe. Victor II., Frederick's pope, had Germany, Bohemia, and the one half of Italy on his side: the rest submitted to Alexander, in honor of whom the Milanese, who were avowed enemies to the emperor, built the city of Alexandria. In vain did those of Frederick's party endeavor to have it named Cæsaria; the pope's name prevailed, and it was called *"Alessandria de la Paglia,"* a surname which shows the difference between this little city and others of that name formerly built in honor of the true Alexander.

1162 — Happy would it have been for the age, had it produced no other disputes; but Milan, for attempting to regain its liberty, was, by the emperor's orders, razed to the foundations, and salt sowed on its ruins. Brescia and Placentia were dismantled by the conqueror, and the other cities that had aspired to liberty were deprived of their privileges. But Pope Alexander, who had stirred them all up to revolt, returned to Rome after the death of his rival; and at his return renewed the civil war. Frederick caused another pope to be elected, and this one dying also, he nominated a third. Then Alexander III. fled to France, the natural asylum of every pope who was

an enemy to the emperor; but the flames of discord he had raised continued to rage in their full force. The cities of Italy united together in defence of their liberty, and the Milanese rebuilt their city, in spite of the emperor.

1177 — At length the pope, by negotiating, proved stronger than the emperor, by fighting; and Frederick Barbarossa found himself obliged to give way. Venice had the honor of being the place of reconciliation. The emperor, the pope, and a great number of princes and cardinals, repaired to this city, already mistress of the sea, and one of the wonders of the world: the emperor there put an end to the dispute by acknowledging the pope, kissing his feet, and holding his stirrup on the seashore. All the advantage was on the side of the Church. Frederick promised to restore all that belonged to the see of Rome; but still the lands of Countess Mathilda were not so much as mentioned. The emperor made a truce for six years with the cities of Italy: Milan, now rebuilt, with Pavia, Brescia, and many other towns, thanked the pope for having restored to them that precious liberty for which they had been fighting; and the holy father, in a transport of joy, exclaimed: "God has been pleased to permit an old man, and a priest, to triumph without the assistance of arms over a powerful and formidable emperor."

It is remarkable that, during these long quarrels, though Pope Alexander had often performed the

ceremony of excommunicating the emperor, he never went so far as to depose him. This behavior is not only a proof of this pontiff's great prudence, but likewise a general condemnation of the extravagance of Gregory VII.

1190 — All things being quiet in Italy, Frederick set out for the Holy Wars, where he lost his life by bathing in the Cydnus, being seized with the same disorder as that which Alexander the Great had formerly with great difficulty recovered from, when he plunged himself, while in a sweat, into that river. Probably this illness was a pleurisy.

Frederick had carried his pretensions farther than any other emperor before him had done; he had caused a decree to be made by the doctors of the law at Bologna, in 1158, setting forth that the empire of the whole world of right belonged to him, and that to maintain the contrary was heresy. But there was something more real in the oath of allegiance which the senate and people of Rome swore to him at his coronation, which, however, became of no effect after Pope Alexander III. had got the better of him at the Congress of Venice. Isaac Angelus, emperor of Constantinople, gave him no other title than that of the Church of Rome's lawyer; and certainly Rome used her lawyer as ill as possible.

As to Pope Alexander, he lived four years longer in a glorious tranquillity, the darling of Rome, and of all Italy. He enacted, in a numerous council, that, for the future, it should be sufficient to have two-

thirds of the cardinals' votes only, to declare a pope duly elected: and yet this regulation could not prevent the schisms which were afterwards caused by what they call in Italy *"la rabbia papale."*

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE EMPEROR HENRY VI. AND ROME.

1191 — The disputes between Rome and the empire still continued to exist with a greater or less degree of rancor. Writers tell us that when Henry VI., son of the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, kneeled down to receive the imperial crown at the hands of old Pope Celestine III., who was over eighty, that haughty pontiff, with a stroke of his foot, kicked the crown off the emperor's head. This is improbable; but that it gained credit is enough to show to what length party animosities were carried. If the pope had really behaved in this manner it would have been only an act of weakness.

But the crowning of Henry VI. furnished matters of far greater concern. This prince wanted to have possession of the two Sicilies; and, in order to obtain them, condescended, though an emperor, to receive from the pope the investiture of those very states which had originally paid homage to the empire, and of which he at the same time looked upon himself as hereditary proprietor and lord paramount. He demanded of the pope to be received as his liege vassal, and the pope refused him. The

Romans were not willing to accept him for a neighbor, nor the Neapolitans for a master; but he made himself so in spite of them. Princess Constance, daughter of King William II., was the only one remaining of the lawful line of the Norman conquerors, and she was married to this Henry VI. Tancred, a bastard of that line, had been acknowledged king by the people and the see of Rome. The dispute then was, who should wear the crown — Tancred, who possessed it by right of election, or Henry, who claimed it in right of his wife? This was to be decided by arms, and the Sicilians, after the death of Tancred in 1193, vainly proclaimed his young son: Henry's fortune prevailed, and one of the basest acts that a sovereign could be guilty of proved the means of his successes.

1194 — The intrepid king of England, Richard *Cœur de Lion,* in returning from a crusade, was cast away near the coast of Dalmatia: he entered the territories of the duke of Austria. This prince violates the laws of hospitality, loads the king of England with chains, and afterwards sells him to the emperor, as the Arabs do their slaves. Henry gets a large sum for his ransom, and with this money he makes the conquest of the two Sicilies. He then causes the body of King Tancred to be taken out of his grave, and, by an act of barbarity equally idle and execrable, orders the head to be severed from the lifeless trunk by the hands of the executioner. The young prince, son of Tancred, has his eyes put out, is castrated,

and afterwards confined in a dungeon at Coire, a town in the country of the Grisons. His mother and his sisters are shut up in Alsace; all the friends of this unhappy family, of whatsoever rank or degree, are put to death by tortures, and the royal treasures are carried away into Germany.

1198 — Thus did the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily pass to Germans, after having been conquered by Frenchmen; and thus did twenty provinces fall under the dominion of princes whom nature had placed at three hundred leagues distance from them: an eternal subject of discord, and a proof of the wisdom of the Salic law, a law which would be still more advantageous to a small state than to a large one. Henry VI. was at that time much more powerful than his father, Frederick Barbarossa, had been. He was in a manner despotic in Germany, he was sovereign of Lombardy, Naples, and Sicily, and lord paramount at Rome, where he made all tremble. But his cruelty proved his destruction; for it is said that his own wife, Constance, whose family he had so barbarously exterminated, conspired against the tyrant and took him off by poison.

Upon the death of Henry VI. the empire of Germany was divided. This was not the case with France; its kings having been either prudent or fortunate enough to settle the order of succession. But the imperial title affected by Germany had proved the means of making the crown elective. Every bishop, or great lord, had a right to give his

vote. This right of electing, and being elected, flattered the ambition of princes, and not unfrequently caused many ills to the state.

1198 — Young Frederick II., son of Henry VI., was but just out of his cradle when he was elected emperor by a faction, which gave the title of "King of the Romans" to his uncle Philip. Another party chose Otho of Saxony. The popes reaped an advantage from these troubles in Germany of a different nature from that which the emperors had reaped from those in Italy.

Innocent III., the son of a gentleman of Agnana, in the neighborhood of Rome, built the edifice of that temporal power, the materials of which his predecessors had been amassing during the space of four hundred years. The excommunication of Philip, the attempt to dethrone young Frederick, the pretence of excluding forever from the throne of Germany and Italy the house of Suabia, so odious to the popes, and the setting up of themselves as the judges of kings, had become common since the time of Gregory VII. But Innocent III. did not stop at these trifling ceremonies: a fair opportunity offered, which he readily embraced, of obtaining the patrimony of St. Peter, which had been so long contested, and which was part of the inheritance of the famous countess Mathilda.

He now saw himself acknowledged as sovereign in Romagna, Umbria, the march of Ancona, Orbitello, and Viterbo; in short, his dominion extended

from sea to sea. The Romans had not carried their conquests farther in the first four ages of their republic, nor were these countries of such value to them as they were to the popes. Innocent III. conquered even Rome itself, and the new senate, no longer that of Rome, but the pope's, bowed at his nod. He also abolished the title of consul. The Roman pontiffs now began to be kings indeed; and religion, concurring with the times, made them likewise the masters of kings. But this great temporal power in Italy was not of long duration.

History does not furnish us with anything more interesting than what passed at this time between the heads of the Church, France, Germany, and England. Rome was always the master-spring that gave motion to the affairs of Europe. We have seen the disputes between the priesthood and the empire down to Pope Innocent III., and to the emperors, Philip, Henry, and Otho, while Frederick II. was yet in his minority. We must now look on France, and the interests which those kingdoms had to dispute with Germany.

CHAPTER XL.

FRANCE AND ENGLAND, UNTIL THE REIGNS OF ST. LOUIS, JOHN LACKLAND, AND HENRY III., DURING THE TWELFTH CENTURY — GREAT CHANGES IN THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE. THE MURDER OF THOMAS Á BECKET, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY — ENGLAND MADE A FIEF TO THE SEE OF ROME.

THE feudal government was established over almost all Europe, and the laws of chivalry were everywhere the same: in France in particular it was established that if the lord of a fief said to his liege-man: "Come along with me, for I want to wage war against the king, my sovereign, who refuses to do me justice," the liege-man was immediately to go to the king and ask him if it was true that he had refused to do justice to such a lord. If the king did refuse it, the liege-man was obliged to join his lord, and to march with him against the king the requisite number of days, or lose his fief; such a regulation might not improperly be termed: "An ordinance for waging civil war."

King Louis the Fat was nearly always employed in waging war with his barons, within seven or eight leagues of Paris.

Louis the Young had acquired large demesnes by marriage, but he lost them again by a divorce. He had received affronts from his wife, Eleonora, who

was an heiress of Guienne and Poitou, that a great king should have overlooked. Tired with accompanying him in those famous and unfortunate crusades in which he was engaged, she had made herself amends, to use her own expression, for the tedious hours she was obliged to spend with a king who was fitter to be a monk. This coming to the king's knowledge, he annulled his marriage, under pretence of consanguinity. Louis has been blamed by some for not keeping his wife's dowry when he put her away, but such should consider that a king of France was not powerful enough at that time to commit such an act of injustice.

Henry II., afterwards king of England, a descendant of William the Conqueror, and already possessed of Normandy, Maine, Anjou, and Touraine, was less particular than Louis the Young, and thought it no disgrace to marry a gay lady who brought him the counties of Guienne and Poitou for her dowry. Soon after he was raised to the throne of England, and paid homage for those territories to the king of France, who would have been glad to have paid it to him for the same possessions.

The feudal government was equally disagreeable to the kings of France, England, and Germany; and these princes undertook, almost at the same time, and by the same means, to raise troops independent of their vassals. King Louis granted certain privileges to all the towns in his demesnes, on condition that each parish should repair to the army under the

banner of the saint of their parochial church, in the same manner as the kings themselves marched under the banner of St. Denis. Several bondmen were enfranchised at this time and made citizens, and the citizens had the privilege of choosing their municipal officers, their sheriffs, and their mayors.

We may date this re-establishment of the municipal government of the cities and boroughs at about the years 1137 and 1138. Henry II. of England granted similar privileges to several cities for a certain sum, which he employed in raising troops.

The emperors followed much the same method in Germany. The city of Spires, for example, in 1166, purchased the privilege of choosing their own burgomasters, notwithstanding the opposition of their bishop. Thus liberty, the natural privilege of mankind, arose from the indigence of princes: but this liberty was but a lesser degree of servitude, compared with that enjoyed by the cities of Italy, who had then erected themselves into republics.

The inhabitants of Upper Italy had formed a plan of government based on that of ancient Greece; most of these great cities having recovered their liberty, and being united in one common cause, seemed to bid fair to become a formidable republic; but they were quickly destroyed by great and little tyrants.

The popes had each of these cities to manage, together with the kingdoms of Naples, Germany,

France, England, and Spain, with all which they had some disputes, and always to their advantage.

King Louis the Young, having, in 1142, excluded one of his subjects, named Peter la Chartre, from being made bishop of Bourges, this man was chosen in spite of him; and being supported by the see of Rome, he laid all the king's demesnes under an interdict. This occasioned a civil war, which continued till the king, by a treaty, acknowledged the bishop, and entreated the pope to take off the interdict.

The kings of England were engaged in still greater broils with the Church; one of these kings, whose memory is most revered by the English, is Henry I., the third king from the Conquest, who began his reign in 1100. The English hold him in grateful remembrance for easing them of the curfew law, which had so long been a restraint to them. He, like a wise legislator, settled one standard for weights and measures throughout all his kingdom; a regulation which was so easily executed in England, though it has been so often unsuccessfully proposed in France. This prince also confirmed the laws of Edward the Confessor, which had been abrogated by his father, William the Conqueror. In fine, to engage the clergy in his interests, he renounced the right of *régale,* which gave him the usufruct of all vacant benefices, a right which the kings of France have always preserved.

But besides all this he signed a charter of privi-

leges, which he gave to the English nation, and which was the original source of those liberties which afterwards became so greatly enlarged. William the Conqueror had treated the English like slaves, whom he did not fear. Henry, his son, behaved more kindly to them, but it was because he stood in need of them. He was a younger brother and had wrested the sceptre from his elder brother, Robert, in 1103. This was the true cause of that great indulgence he showed towards his subjects. But, artful and absolute as he was, he could not prevent his own clergy and the see of Rome from opposing these investitures; and therefore found himself obliged to desist, and content himself with the homage paid him by the bishops for their temporalities.

As for France, it was exempt from these troubles, the ceremony of the crosier and ring being not yet introduced into that kingdom.

The English bishops at that time were little less than temporal princes in their own dioceses; at least they were equal in power and riches to the greatest vassals of the crown. Under the reign of King Stephen, successor to Henry I., a bishop of Salisbury, named Roger, who was married, and lived publicly with the woman he owned for his wife, made war against his sovereign. In the course of the war, one of his castles being taken, it is said there were found therein four thousand marks of silver; which, reckoning eight ounces to the mark,

amounts to two millions of livres of the present money of France — an incredible sum at a time when specie was so scarce, and commerce so limited.

After the reign of this Stephen, which was continually disturbed by civil wars, England put on a new face under Henry II., who united under his dominion Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, Saintonge, Guienne, and Poitou, with all England, excepting only the county of Cornwall, which was not then conquered. The whole kingdom now enjoyed a perfect tranquillity, when the public happiness was disturbed by the great dispute between the king and Thomas à Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury.

This Becket was a lawyer. He had been raised by Henry II. to the dignity of chancellor, and afterwards to that of archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England, and legate of the holy see. But no sooner was he made the second person in the kingdom than he became an enemy of the first. A priest having committed a murder, the primate ordered him only to be deprived of his living. The king expressed his displeasure at this partiality. He observed to him that if a layman had been guilty of such a crime he would have been punished with death; and that it was encouraging the clergy to commit murder, in making the punishment so disproportionate to the crime. The archbishop, on his part, maintained that no ecclesiastic could be punished with death, and sent the king back his patent for chancellor, to show that he would be entirely

independent. The king called a parliament, where it was proposed that no bishop should for the future be permitted to go to Rome; nor any of the king's subjects allowed to appeal to that see; nor any of his vassals or officers to be excommunicated or suspended from their functions without the permission of the sovereign; and lastly, that all crimes committed by the clergy should be cognizable by the ordinary courts of justice. This motion was passed by all the temporal peers; but Thomas à Becket at first refused his assent; however, he at length signed these just and salutary laws, but afterward made his excuses to the pope for having, as he said, betrayed the rights of the Church, and promised never to be guilty of like concessions.

Being accused by the peers, of misdemeanors during the time of his chancellorship, he refused to make his defence, because he was an archbishop; upon which he was condemned by the lords spiritual and temporal, to be imprisoned as a seditious person; he then fled to France, and repaired to the court of Louis the Young, the hereditary enemy of Henry II. The king of England used every gentle and humane method to engage the archbishop to return to his duty; and in a voyage he made to France, he took Louis the Young, his lord paramount, for arbiter, to whom he expressed himself in these terms: "Let the archbishop act toward me as the holiest of his predecessors has behaved toward the lowest of mine, and I shall be satisfied."

At length a feigned reconciliation was made between the king and the primate. Becket returned to England in 1170; but it was only to excommunicate all the clergy, bishops, canons, and curates who had voted against him. These made their complaints in a body to the king, who was then in Normandy; and Henry's passion being raised to the highest pitch, he cried out: "Is there none of my servants, then, that will rid me of this turbulent priest?"

These words were certainly highly indiscreet, and seemed to put the poniard into the hand of any assassin, who thought to serve the king by murdering a person who should have been punished only by the laws.

Accordingly four servants of the king's household went directly to Canterbury, where they murdered the archbishop at the foot of the altar. Thus a person who deserved to be proceeded against as a rebel, became a martyr, and the king was loaded with all the infamy and horror of this murder.

History does not take notice of any punishment being inflicted on these four assassins. It appears that the king was the only person who suffered for it.

We have already seen how Pope Adrian IV. gave Henry II. permission to usurp Ireland. Pope Alexander III., successor of Adrian, confirmed this permission, on condition that the king would swear that he had never commanded this murder; and that he should repair barefooted to the archbishop's

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tomb, and there receive discipline by the hands of the canons of the Church of Canterbury. It would have been a great act to dispose of Ireland, supposing Henry to have had a right to take possession of it, and the pope to bestow it; but it was greater still to oblige a king powerful like Henry, to acknowledge this fault, and ask pardon for it.

1177 — The king, whose children had revolted against him, finished his penance, after he had completed the conquest of Ireland. He made a solemn renunciation of all the regal rights which he had maintained against Becket. The English condemn their king for this act of renunciation, as likewise for submitting to the penance. He doubtless should not have so easily given up his rights; but he should have repented being accessory to murder: the interests of mankind require that there should be a curb to restrain sovereigns, and secure the life and liberty of the subject. The curb of religion might by universal agreement be lodged in the hands of the popes, as we have already observed; and the first pontiff by engaging in temporal quarrels only with a view to appease them, by admonishing both princes and people of their respective duties, and reproving them for their faults, reserving the thunder of excommunication for the punishment of the more atrocious crimes: by this behavior, I say, the popes might have made themselves regarded as the express images of God upon earth; but as it is, mankind are obliged to depend for their safety on the laws and

manners of each country, the former of which are too often despised, and the latter corrupted.

England enjoyed full tranquillity under Richard *Cœur de Lion,* the son and successor of Henry II. This prince was unsuccessful in his crusades, but his country was not unhappy. He had, indeed, some of those disputes with Philip Augustus, which are unavoidable between a lord paramount and a potent vassal. But these did not change the face of affairs in either kingdom. We should look upon these wars between Christian princes as epidemic diseases, which, though they may depopulate some provinces, make no alterations in the bounds, customs, or manners of a country. The most remarkable thing which occurred during these wars was Richard's taking from Philip his chancery, which he always carried with him, containing an account of his revenues and vassals, and a list of his slaves and freemen. After the loss of this register, the king of France was obliged to make a new one, in which his prerogative was rather increased than diminished.

1194 — Another event worthy of attention is the imprisonment of a bishop of Beauvais, who was taken in arms by King Richard. Pope Celestine sent to Richard, reclaiming the bishop, with these words: "You must restore me my son." But the king sent the bishop's armor to the pope, with this answer, taken from the story of Joseph: "Knowest thou thy son's garment?"

We must further observe, in relation to this church warrior, that if the feudal laws did not compel the bishops themselves to take up arms, they at least obliged them to bring their vassals to the place appointed for the rendezvous of the army.

Philip Augustus seized upon the temporalities of the bishops of Orleans and Auxerre, for not having complied with this abuse, now become a duty. The bishops, upon being condemned, began by laying the kingdom under an interdict, and finished by asking pardon.

We shall meet with other adventures of Richard *Cœur de Lion,* in the course of the Crusades. John Lackland, his brother, who succeeded him, might have been the greatest prince in Europe; for besides the demesnes left him by his father, Henry II., he had also Brittany, which he usurped from his nephew, Prince Arthur, to whom this province had devolved in right of his mother. But by endeavoring to take what did not belong to him, he lost all he had, and became an example of terror to all bad princes. He began by seizing on the kingdom of Brittany, which, as I have before said, belonged to his nephew Arthur, whom he took prisoner in an engagement, and confined in the castle of Rouen; nor was it ever known what became of this young prince. John has been accused by all Europe, and indeed not without reason, of having made away with him. Happily for the instruction of all kings,

this crime is known to have been the first cause of all his misfortunes

The feudal laws, which in other places gave birth to so many disorders, here signalized themselves by an act of memorable justice. The countess of Brittany, mother of Prince Arthur, presented a petition to the court of peers in France, signed by all the barons of Brittany; in consequence of which the king of England was summoned to appear before his peers. This summons was served upon him at London, by the sergeants-at-arms. The accused king sent over a bishop to France to demand of Philip a safe-conduct for his person. "Let him come," replied Philip, "he is free to do it." "Shall he have security for his safe return?" said the bishop. "Yes," resumed the king, "if the judgment of his peers permit it." But John not appearing, the peers of France passed sentence of death upon him in 1203, and declared all his territories situated in France to be forfeited to the king. Philip lost no time in putting himself in a condition to profit by the crime of the king, his vassal. John seems to have been like most tyrannical kings, of a cowardly disposition. He suffered himself to be stripped of Normandy, Guienne, and Poitou, and retired to England, where he was equally hated and despised. For some time he found resource in the native pride and haughtiness of the English nation, who could not bear the thoughts of their king being condemned by a court in France: but the barons of England

soon grew weary of supplying a king with money who did not know how to make use of it. To complete his misfortunes, John embroiled himself with the court of Rome about an archbishop of Canterbury, whom Pope Innocent III. wanted to nominate of his own authority, in opposition to the laws of the country.

1212 — This pope, under whom the holy see became so formidable, laid the kingdom of England under an interdict, and forbade John's subjects paying him any obedience for the future. This ecclesiastical thunderbolt was at this time truly terrible, because the pope put it into the hands of Philip Augustus, to whom he made over the kingdom of England in perpetual inheritance, promising him the remission of all his sins if he succeeded in conquering it. He even granted the same indulgences for this expedition as had been given to those who went to recover the Holy Land. The king of France did not now think proper to declare that the popes had no right to dispose of crowns: he had himself been excommunicated some years before, and his kingdom laid under an interdict by this very Pope Innocent III., for having attempted to marry another wife. He had then publicly declared the papal censures to be insolent and abusive, and had seized on the temporalities of every bishop and priest in the kingdom who had showed himself so bad a Frenchman as to pay obedience to the pope. But he thought quite differently when he saw himself commissioned

by a bull to take possession of England. He now took back his wife, for divorcing whom he had incurred so many excommunications, and thought of nothing but putting the pope's sentence in execution. He employed a whole year in building a fleet of seventeen hundred ships, and raising the finest army that had ever been seen in France.

The hatred which the British bore to King John was equivalent to another army in favor of King Philip, who now prepared to set out on his expedition, while John on his side made a last effort to receive him in a proper manner; and, hated as he was by the greater part of the nation, he found means, through the emulation that perpetually exists between the English and the French, the indignation of the former at the pope's behavior, and the prerogatives annexed to the crown, which are of no small weight, to keep on foot for a few weeks an army of sixty thousand men, at the head of which he advanced as far as Dover, to receive the person who had condemned him in France, and had come to dethrone him in England.

1213 — All Europe now waited with impatience for a decisive battle between the two kings, when the pope tricked them both, and artfully took that to himself which he had pretended to bestow on Philip. This extraordinary negotiation was carried on and concluded by one Pandolfo, a subdeacon; a domestic of the pope's and his legate in France and England. This man went over to Dover, under pretence of

negotiating matters with the English barons in favor of the French king. Here he saw King John, to whom he took an opportunity of speaking in these terms: "You are undone, sir; the French fleet is going to set sail; your troops will certainly desert you; you have only one recourse left, which is to put yourself under the protection of the holy see." John consented to this proposal, swore to submit himself, and sixteen barons took the same oath on the king's soul. A strange oath! by which they obliged themselves to the performance of conditions they did not know. The artful Italian so intimidated the king, and so worked upon the barons, that at length, on May 15, 1213, in the house of the knights templars, in the suburbs of Dover, King John kneeling down, and holding his hands between those of the legate, pronounced the following words:

"I, John, by the grace of God, king of England and lord of Ireland, for the expiation of my sins, and out of my pure free will, and with the advice of my barons, do give unto the Church of Rome, and to Pope Innocent and his successors, the kingdoms of England and Ireland, together with all the rights belonging to them; and will hold them of the pope as his vassal; I will be faithful to God, to the Church of Rome, to the pope, my lord, and to his successors lawfully elected; and I bind myself to pay him a tribute of one thousand marks of silver yearly, to wit, seven hundred for the kingdom of England, and three hundred for Ireland."

The money was then put into the legate's hands, as the first payment of the tribute; after which the crown and sceptre were likewise given to him. The Italian deacon trod the money under his feet, but he kept the crown and sceptre five days; at the end of which he returned them to the king, as a favor from the pope, their common master.

Philip Augustus was all this time waiting at Boulogne for the legate's return, in order to put to sea. The legate at length came back to let him know that he was no longer permitted to attack England, which had become a fief of the Church of Rome, and its king taken under the protection of the holy see.

The donation which the pope had made to Philip, of the kingdom of England, was now likely to become of fatal consequence to him; for another excommunicated prince, nephew of King John, had entered into an alliance with his uncle, to oppose the designs of France, who now began to be too formidable. This excommunicated person was Emperor Otho IV., who at once disputed the empire with young Frederick II., son of Henry VI., and Italy with the pope. He was the only emperor of Germany that had ever given battle in person to a king of France.

CHAPTER XLI.

OTHO IV. AND PHILIP AUGUSTUS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY — THE BATTLE OF BOUVINES, AND ENGLAND AND FRANCE UNTIL THE DEATH OF LOUIS VII., FATHER TO ST. LOUIS.

ALTHOUGH the system of the balance of Europe was never sufficiently explained till of late, yet it appears to have been always a maxim to unite against the preponderating powers. Germany, England, and the Low Countries now take up arms against Philip Augustus, in the same manner as we have in our time seen them join together against Louis XIV. Ferrand, count of Flanders, entered into an alliance with the emperor Otho IV. This count was Philip's vassal; but that was the very reason which induced him to declare himself against him, as well as the count of Boulogne. This Philip was very nearly crushed for having accepted a present made him by the pope. However, by his good fortune and great courage he extricated himself out of all these difficulties with greater glory than had been acquired by any king of France before him.

1215 — Between Lille and Tournay lies a little village called Bouvines, near which Otho IV., at the head of an army over one hundred thousand strong, advanced to attack King Philip, who had not above half that number. At that time they made use of the cross-bow, a weapon which had been in use ever

since the end of the twelfth century; but the fate of the day was chiefly decided by the weight of the cavalry, who were entirely clad in iron. This complete armor was a privilege of honor granted to the knights which the esquires could not pretend to, they not being permitted to be invulnerable. All that a knight had to be afraid of was being wounded either in the face when he lifted up the visor of his helmet, or in the side, at the joints of the armor; or when knocked down, by having his coat of mail lifted up; or lastly, under the arm-pit, when he lifted up his arm to strike.

There were also other troops of cavalry raised from among the common people; these were not so well armed as the knights. As for the infantry, they made use of such defensive arms as they liked best; their weapons of offence were the sword, the arrow, the club, and the sling.

Philip's army was drawn up by a bishop whose name was Guérin, who had been lately nominated to the bishopric of Senlis. The same bishop of Beauvais who had been so long kept prisoner by Richard *Cœur de Lion,* was also present at this battle: he always fought with a club, saying that it was contrary to the canons to spill human blood. It is not known in what manner either the emperor or the king ranged their troops. Philip, just before the onset, ordered this psalm to be sung: *"Exsurgat Deus et dissipentur inimici ejus"*—"Let the Lord arise and put his enemies to flight"—as if Otho had

taken up arms against God himself. Before this the French were accustomed to sing verses in praise of Charlemagne and Roland. Otho's imperial standard was carried upon four wheels: this was a long pole, to which was fastened a painted dragon, and over the dragon was raised an eagle of gilt wood. The royal standard of France was a gilt staff with white silk colors, sewed with fleurs-de-lis; and what had been for a long time only the fancy of painters was now the arms of France. The old crowns of the kings of Lombardy, of which there are very exact prints in Muratori, are surmounted with this ornament, which is indeed nothing else but the head of a spear, fastened with two other pieces of crooked iron.

Besides the royal standard, Philip Augustus had the oriflamme of St. Denis carried before him. Whenever the king was in danger, one or the other of these standards was to be raised or lowered. Each knight had also his particular standard, and the great knights had other colors carried before them, which they called banners. This name banner, though so very honorable, was nevertheless common to all the colors carried by the infantry, which consisted almost entirely of bondmen. The military shout among the French was "*mon joye Saint Denis*"; that of the Germans was "*Kyrie eleison.*"

One proof that the knights completely armed ran no risk other than that of being dismounted, and were never wounded but by the greatest accident is, that King Philip being thrown from his horse, was

a long time surrounded by the enemy and received several blows from all kinds of weapons, without losing a drop of blood.

It is even said that while he was upon the ground a German soldier attempted several times to pierce his neck with a spear that had a double hook, but could not compass it. Not one knight was killed in this battle except William Longchamps, who was unfortunately slain by a stroke in his eye, which was given him through the visor of his helmet.

Among the Germans were reckoned five and twenty knights banneret, and seven counts of the empire, made prisoners, but not one wounded.

Emperor Otho lost the battle, in which it is said there were thirty thousand Germans killed; but probably the number is exaggerated. We do not find that the king of France made any conquest in Germany after the battle of Bouvines; but he gained a great increase of power over his vassals.

The greatest loser by this battle was King John of England, whose last hopes seemed centred in the emperor Otho. This emperor died soon after, a true penitent. It is said that he used to order his scullions to trample upon him, and to suffer himself to be scourged by the monks, agreeably to the opinion of the princes of those times, who imagined that by submitting to a trifling discipline they could atone for the blood of so many thousands.

1215 — There is no truth in what we find mentioned by many historians, that Philip, on the very

day he gained the battle of Bouvines, received the news of another victory obtained by his son, afterwards Louis VIII., over King John. On the contrary, King John had gained some small successes in Poitou; but deprived of the assistance of his allies, he made a truce with Philip, of which indeed he had great occasion; for his own subjects were now become his greatest enemies; he was universally despised by them for having made himself the vassal of Rome; and the barons obliged him to sign that famous charter, which is called "*Magna Charta,*" or the charter of the liberties of England.

King John thought himself more degraded by being obliged by this charter to leave his subjects in the quiet possession of their natural rights than by having made himself the subject of the see of Rome; and complained of it as the greatest affront offered to his dignity; yet, after all, what is there in this charter that can be said to be injurious to the royal authority? For instance, at the death of an earl, his eldest son, to enter into possession of the fief, must pay to the king one hundred marks of silver, and a baron one hundred shillings; none of the king's bailiffs are to take the horses belonging to peasants, without paying five pence a day for each horse. Whoever reads the charter throughout will only find that the rights of humankind have not been sufficiently secured; he will see that the commons, who bore the heaviest burden, and rendered the greatest services to the state, had no share in a government

which yet could never flourish without them. Nevertheless, John complained bitterly of this, and applied to the pope, his new sovereign, for redress.

And now Pope Innocent III., who had excommunicated the king, excommunicates the peers of England; at which they were so provoked that they did the very same thing which the pope had done before: they offered the crown of England to the king of France. Philip Augustus, who had conquered Germany, and was in possession of almost all King John's estates in France, on being called to the throne of England, acted like a profound politician, and prevailed on the English to ask his son Louis for their king. In vain did the pope's legates represent to Philip that King John was a feudatory of the holy see. Louis, who had previously concerted the matter with his father, addressed him thus in the presence of the legates: "Sir, I am your vassal for the fiefs I hold of you in France; but it does not belong to you to determine what concerns the kingdom of England; and, if you do, I shall appeal to my peers."

1216 — After having made this speech he set out for England, notwithstanding the public prohibitions of his father, who at the same time secretly supplied him with men and money. Innocent III. in vain thundered out his excommunications against both father and son. The bishops of France declared that against the father void. Let us observe, however, that they did not dare to invalidate that

against Louis, which was tacitly acknowledging that the popes had a right to excommunicate princes. They could not indeed well dispute this power of the popes, because they assumed it themselves: but they likewise reserved to themselves the right of determining whether the pope's sentence of excommunication was just or not. The princes of those times were in a very wretched situation, by being thus continually exposed to excommunication, both in their own kingdoms and at Rome. But the people were still more unhappy: the weight of the sentence always fell upon them, and they seldom failed of being stripped by the war.

The son of Philip Augustus was proclaimed king in London: yet he did not omit sending ambassadors to plead his cause before the pope. This pope enjoyed the same honor as the Roman senate had formerly done, of being the judge of kings; but he died before he passed his definite sentence.

John Lackland, after wandering in his own country, from town to town, died at the same time in a village in the county of Norfolk. A peer of France formerly conquered England, and kept possession of it, yet a king of France could not keep it.

Louis VIII. engaged in the crusade against the Albigenses, who at that time were slaughtered by thousands, in compliance with the decrees issued by the court of Rome.

1223 — Philip Augustus died and left his territories increased by the accession of Normandy, Maine,

and Poitou; but the rest of the possessions belonging to England were still defended by a number of powerful lords.

In the reign of Louis VIII. one part of Guienne belonged to France, and the other to England. During this reign nothing remarkable or important happened, excepting the will made by Louis in 1225, which indeed merits some attention.

By this will he bequeaths a hundred sols to each of the two thousand lazarettos in his kingdom. Thus we may perceive that all the Christians got by the Crusades was this leprous infection: and it is natural to suppose that the want of linen and the filth of the people greatly increased the number of these lepers. This name of "lazarettos" was not indifferently given to other hospitals; for we may find that by the same will the king bequeaths a hundred livres, current money, to two hundred hospitals — *Hôtels-Dieu.*

The legacy of thirty thousand livres which this same king left to his wife, the famous queen of Castile, amounted to fifty-four thousand livres of the present money. I often insist upon the particular valuation of money, because I look upon it as the pulse of a state, and the surest way of knowing its strength. For instance, it is evident that Philip Augustus was the most powerful prince of his time, since independently of the jewels he left behind him, the sums specified in his will amounted to nearly nine hundred thousand marks, of eight ounces

to the mark, which is worth forty-five millions present money, reckoning fifty livres to the mark: but there must certainly be some mistake in this calculation; for it is hardly probable that a king of France, who had no other revenue than what arose from his private demesnes, should have been able to leave so large a sum behind him. The power of all the kings of Europe at that time consisted in having a great number of vassals ready to march under their command, and not in being possessed of sufficient riches to enslave them.

CHAPTER XLII.

FREDERICK II. AND HIS QUARRELS WITH THE POPES AND THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

Towards the beginning of the thirteenth century, while Philip Augustus was still upon the throne, while Louis VIII. was stripping John Lackland of his dominions, and after the death of John and Philip Augustus, Louis, driven from England by Henry III., left him that kingdom, and returned to reign in France; during this time, I say, the crusades or persecutions against the Albigenses were exhausting Europe. The emperor Frederick II. made the wounds of Italy and Germany, which were not yet well closed, bleed afresh. The dispute between the imperial crown and the Roman mitre, the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, and the animosities between the Germans and Italians, disturbed the

public peace more than ever. Frederick II., son of Henry VI. and nephew of Philip, enjoyed the empire which his competitor, Otho IV., had resigned before his death.

The emperors were at that time much more powerful than the kings of France; for besides Suabia, and the other large territories which Frederick had in Germany, he was also in possession of Naples and Sicily by inheritance. Lombardy belonged to him in right of the long possession of former emperors; but that right was little guarded by the Italian cities, who had become enthusiasts in their notions of liberty. At that time Germany was in a state of anarchy and rapine, which lasted for a considerable time; and this latter was grown to such a height that the great lords reckoned it as a part of their privileges to be robbers on the highways in their own territories, and to coin false money: but Frederick II., at the Diet of Egra, held in 1219, obliged them to take an oath never to exercise such privileges for the future; and, to set them an example, he gave up the right which had always been claimed by his predecessors, of taking possession of the estates of all bishops at their demise.

The most brutal and ridiculous customs were established in those times. The lords had set up a number of imaginary rights, and, among the rest, that of prelibation, by which they claimed the first night's lodging with the new-married bride of their menial vassals. The bishops and abbots claimed the

same right, as being great barons; and some of them have, even in the last century, obliged their subjects to pay them an acknowledgment for remission of this unaccountable privilege, which spread over the provinces in Scotland and France. Such were the prevailing manners in the times of the Crusades.

Italy was indeed not quite so deeply plunged in barbarism, but it was not less unhappy. The quarrel between the empire and the pontificate had given birth to the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines, which divided whole cities and families.

Milan, Brescia, Mantua, Vicenza, Padua, Treviglio, Ferrara, and almost all the cities of Romagna under the protection of the pope, had combined together against the emperor.

He had for him Cremona, Bergamo, Modena, Parma, Reggio, and Trent. A great many other towns were divided between the parties of the Guelphs and Ghibellines. Thus Italy became the theatre not of one war only, but of a hundred civil wars, which, by inflaming the minds and exciting the resentment of the Italian potentates, accustomed them but too much to the horrid practices of poisoning and murder.

Frederick II. was born in Italy; he had a great fondness for that agreeable climate, and, on the contrary, could not bear either the country or the manners of Germany, from which he was absent fifteen whole years. It appears plainly that his chief design was to fix the throne of the new Cæsars in

Italy. This is the true secret of all the quarrels he had with the popes, in which he by turn employed both cunning and violence; and the holy see on its part took care to fight him with his own weapons.

1228 — Honorius III. and Gregory IX., being unable to resist him at first, wisely resolved to keep him at a distance, and sent him upon a war to the Holy Land. Such was the prejudice of those times that the emperor was obliged to make a vow of engaging in this expedition, for fear the people should think him not a Christian. But as policy had determined him to make this vow, the same policy furnished him with means for deferring his voyage.

Gregory IX. thereupon excommunicated him, agreeable to the custom of those times. Upon this Frederick set out, and, while he is making a Crusade at Jerusalem, the pope engages in another against him at Rome. The emperor, after making a treaty with the sultans, returns to defend himself against the machinations of the pontiff, and, in the territories of Capua, meets with his own brother-in-law, John of Brienne, titular king of Jerusalem, at the head of a body of troops furnished by the pope, who bore on their shoulders, as a badge, the two cross-keys. The Ghibelline party, who were with the emperor, wore the sign of the cross; an engagement ensued, in which the crosses soon put the keys to flight.

1235 — Gregory had now no resource left but to stir up Frederick's son, Henry, king of the Romans,

against his father; as his predecessors, Gregory VII., Urban II., and Paschal II., had done by the sons of Henry IV. But Frederick, more fortunate than Henry IV., made himself master of the person of his rebellious son, deposed him at the famous Diet of Mentz, and condemned him to perpetual imprisonment.

Frederick, however, found it an easier matter to get his son condemned by this Germanic diet than to prevail on it to grant him either money or troops to make the conquest of Italy. He had still forces sufficient to make the war bloody in that country, but not to enslave it altogether; the Guelphs, who were of the pope's party, and the great sticklers for liberty, being always sufficiently powerful to counterbalance the Ghibellines, who were on the side of the emperor.

Sardinia became another subject of war between the empire and the pontificate; this naturally produced an excommunication; however, in 1238, the emperor made himself master of almost the whole of that island. Then Gregory publicly accused him of unbelief; "We have proofs," said he, in his circular letter of July 1, 1239, "that he has publicly declared that the world has been cheated by three impostors, Moses, Jesus Christ, and Mahomet; but he makes Jesus Christ far inferior to the other two, for the reason that they lived in splendor and glory, whereas the other was a person sprung from the dregs of the people, and preached his doctrines only

to those of his own rank." "The emperor," continues Gregory, "maintains that the one only God, creator of the universe, could not be born of a woman, especially of a virgin."

These accusations, which had nothing to do with the quarrel about Sardinia, did not hinder the emperor from keeping what he had acquired: the disputes between Frederick and the see of Rome were never on religious points; and yet the popes thundered out their excommunications against him, waged a kind of religious war upon him, and at length deposed him. A cardinal called James, who was the bishop of Palestine, brought letters with him into France from this pope Gregory to young Louis IX. whereby his holiness, having deposed Frederick II., does, by his own private authority, transfer the imperial crown to Robert, count of Artois, brother of the young king of France. Gregory certainly took a wrong time for this embassy; France and England were then engaged in war with each other, and the French barons, who were up in arms in the minority of Louis, were still very powerful, though he was now of age. They are said to have declared, in answer to Gregory's offer, that they did not think the brother of a king of France had any occasion for the imperial crown; and that they looked upon the pope as having still less religion than Frederick himself. But such a reply sounds too improbable to be true.

Nothing can give us a better idea of the manners

and customs of those times than what passed in regard to this proposal of the pope.

He applied to the monks of the abbey of Citeaux, whither he knew St. Louis was to come with his mother on a pilgrimage, in these terms: "Beseech the king that he will take the pope under his protection against that son of Satan, Frederick; the king ought to receive me into his kingdom, in the same manner as my predecessor, Alexander III., was received there when persecuted by Frederick I., and St. Thomas of Canterbury, when troubled by Henry II. of England."

The king came to Citeaux, where he was received by five hundred monks, who conducted him to the chapter; there they all fell on their knees before him, and, with uplifted hands, besought him to permit the pope to come to France. Louis placed himself on his knees before the monks, and gave them his solemn promise to defend the Church; but at the same time told them in plain terms that he could not receive the pope into his kingdom, without the concurrence of his barons, whose advice a king of France ought always to follow. In the interim Gregory died; but the spirit of the Roman Church survived him: Innocent IV., who, when cardinal, was a friend of the emperor Frederick, being now made pope, became as a consequence his enemy, and at all events determined to weaken the imperial power in Italy, and by that means repair the error

which Pope John XII. had been guilty of, in calling the Germans over to Rome.

1245 — Innocent IV., after several fruitless negotiations, called the famous Council of Lyons, which has the following inscription, yet to be seen in the Vatican library: "The thirteenth general council, and the first of Lyons; here Frederick II. was declared an enemy to the Church, and deprived of the imperial diadem."

It may seem a bold attempt to dethrone an emperor in one of the imperial cities; but the city of Lyons was under the protection of France, and its archbishops had seized upon the royal revenues. Frederick did not neglect to send proper advocates to plead his cause before this council, where he knew he was to be accused.

The pope, who had made himself judge, and presided at this council, acted also the part of his own advocate; and, after insisting strongly on the right of temporalities in the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and the patrimony left by the countess Mathilda, he proceeded to accuse Frederick publicly of having made peace with the infidels, of having had several Mahometan concubines, of not believing in Jesus Christ, and, in fine, of being a heretic. But how can a person be at the same time an unbeliever and a heretic? and indeed how was it possible for men in those times to be capable of drawing up such charges? John XII., Stephen VIII., Frederick I., Frederick II., the chancellor des Vignes, Manfred,

the usurper of Naples, and several others had undergone the same imputations.

The emperor's delegates spoke in his defence with a becoming resolution, and, in their turn, accused the pope of usury and rapine. There were also at this council ambassadors from France and England; these complained as much against the popes as the pope had done of the emperor: "You and your Italians," said they, "draw upward of sixty thousand marks a year from the kingdom of England; it is but very lately that you sent us a legate, who has disposed of all the livings in the kingdom in favor of Italians; he raises the most exorbitant taxes upon all religious houses, and excommunicates whomsoever complains of his oppression. Let these grievances therefore be speedily redressed, for we will no longer bear with them."

The pope blushed at this spirited harangue, but made no reply; and proceeded to pronounce sentence of deposition against the emperor. It is well worthy of observation that he pronounced this sentence, not, as he said, with the approbation of the council, but in presence of the council; all the fathers kept the wax tapers lighted while the pope was pronouncing the sentence, and then extinguished them; one party signed the decision, and the other went out fighting with indignation.

The emperor was then at Turin, which did not at that time belong to the house of Savoy, but was a fief of the empire, and governed by the marquis of

Susa. Upon receiving the news of his deposition, he called for a certain casket, and opening it, drew forth the imperial crown, which holding in his hand: "The pope and his council," said he, "have not yet taken thee from me, and ere they can much blood shall be spilled." He immediately afterward set about writing circular letters to all the princes of Germany, and the rest of the empire; these letters were dictated by the famous chancellor Peter des Vignes, who was so strongly accused of having written the book of the "Three Impostors."

"I am not the first prince," said he, in these letters, "whom the clergy have treated with such indignity, nor shall I be the last; you are the causes of it, by paying obedience to these hypocrites, whose boundless ambition you are sufficiently acquainted with. How many infamous actions, shocking to modesty, might you, if you were willing, discover in the court of Rome? Slaves to the times, and intoxicated with pleasures, the greatness of their riches and power seems to have stifled in them all sense of religion. It is a deed of charity to strip them of part of this load of pernicious wealth which bows them down to ruin; and herein it is your duty to join your endeavors to mine."

The pope, in the meantime having declared the empire vacant, wrote to several princes and bishops; namely, the dukes of Bavaria, Saxony, Austria, and Brabant; the archbishops of Salzburg, Cologne, and Mentz. This has given room for the supposition

that seven electors were then solemnly established; but the other bishops and princes of the empire each laid claim to the same right.

Thus did the emperors and the popes mutually endeavor to depose each other; and their grand policy consisted in raising civil wars.

Conrad, son of Emperor Frederick, had been already elected king of the Romans in Germany, but in compliance with the pope it now became necessary to elect a new emperor; but neither the dukes of Saxony, of Brabant, Bavaria, or Austria, nor yet any other prince of the empire, was concerned in this election, the new emperor being chosen entirely by the bishops of Strasburg, Würzburg, Spires, and Metz, with those of Mentz, Trier, and Cologne. The person they made choice of was a landgrave of Thuringia, who was styled *"King of the Priests."*

What a strange kind of an emperor had Rome now! A landgrave who received the crown only from a few bishops of his own country. The pope now renewed the crusade against Frederick; it was proclaimed by the preaching friars, now called Dominicans, and the minor friars, now called Cordeliers or Franciscans. This new militia of the popes began about this time to be established in Europe; the holy see did not, however, confine itself to these measures, but engaged in conspiracies against the life of an emperor who had dared to resist the decree of a council, and oppose the whole body of monks and crusaders; at least we know that the emperor complained of the

pope's having countenanced plots against his life, and that the pope never made any reply to these complaints.

The same prelates who had taken the liberty of creating one emperor, made another after the death of their Thuringian; this was a count of Holland. Thus the pretensions of Germany to the Roman Empire served only to tear it in pieces. These very bishops who had joined in assuming the power of electing emperors, now fell out among themselves; and their count of Holland was slain in the civil war.

1249 — Frederick II. was obliged to struggle with the popes from the farther end of Sicily to the extremity of Germany. It is said that when he was in Apulia he discovered that his physician, who had been seduced by Pope Innocent IV., had formed the design of poisoning him. This fact appears doubtful to me; but in all the doubts raised by the history of these times, the only question is concerning the greater or less degree of atrocity.

1250 — Frederick, seeing with horror that it was impossible for him to trust with safety his life in the hands of Christians, was obliged to take Mahometans for his guard. It is said, however, that these could not secure him against the furious revenge of Manfred, one of his bastards, who strangled him in his last illness. However that may be, this great and unhappy emperor, who was king of Sicily from his cradle, having worn for thirty-eight years the empty

crown of Jerusalem, and the imperial diadem fifty-four — he having been declared king of the Romans in 1196 — died at the age of fifty-seven, in the kingdom of Naples, and left the world in as great confusion at his death as it was at his birth. Notwithstanding all the troubles he had to struggle with, he left his kingdoms of Naples and Sicily greatly embellished and improved by his care; he built towns, founded universities, and gave a kind of new life to learning. The Italian language, which was a compound of the Roman and Latin, began first to take a form in his reign; and there are verses of his extant, in that tongue. But the numberless vexations and oppositions he had to encounter did as much prejudice to the growth of the liberal sciences as they did to his great and useful designs.

From the death of Frederick II. till the year 1268, Germany remained without a head, but not as Greece, ancient Gaul, ancient Germany, or Italy before it became subjected to the Romans had been. Germany was neither a republic nor a country divided among several sovereigns, but a body without a head, whose members tore each other in pieces.

This distracted state of Germany furnished a fine opportunity for the popes to embrace, but they sadly neglected it, and even suffered the loss of Brescia, Cremona, Mantua, and several other small towns. There was needed now a warrior pope to recover these again, but few of the pontiffs were of that character: they shook the whole world with their bulls,

and disposed of kingdoms at their pleasure. In 1247, the pope, purely by his own authority, proclaimed Haquin king of Norway, and made him legitimate, who was born a bastard; one of his legates crowned this new monarch, and received from him a tribute of fifteen thousand marks of silver, and five hundred more of the churches of Norway, which, in all probability, was at least one half of the money then circulating in so poor a country.

1251 — This same pope Innocent IV. created likewise one Mandoc king of Lithuania, but he was to hold his crown as dependent on the see of Rome: "We receive," said his holiness in his bull, dated July 15, 1251, "this new kingdom of Lithuania, as the right and property of St. Peter, taking you, your wife and children, under our protection." This was in some manner imitating the grandeur of the old Roman senate, which was wont to bestow the titles of kings and tetrarchs. Lithuania was not a kingdom; nor was it until nearly a century after that its inhabitants were prevailed on to embrace Christianity.

The popes then talked like masters of the universe, and yet were not able to be masters at home; the disposal of states cost them only paper, but they could not recover a single village near Mantua or Ferrara, without having recourse to intrigues.

Such was the situation of affairs in Europe; Germany and Italy were rent in pieces; France was yet feeble; Spain was divided between the Christians

and the Moors, who were entirely driven from Italy; England began to dispute for liberty with its kings; the feudal government was everywhere established; chivalry was the prevailing fashion; priests had become princes and warriors, and a system of politics prevailed, different in almost every respect from that which at present influences the government of Europe. In fine, all the countries under the Roman communion seemed to form a large republic, of which the emperor and the popes wanted to be the head; and this republic, though divided, had for a long time agreed in the project of the Crusades, which have given birth to such grand and infamous actions, to new kingdoms, new establishments, new miseries, and, in a word, have caused much more unhappiness than glory.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE EAST AT THE TIME OF THE CRUSADES.

Religions always last longer than empires; Mahometanism continued to flourish after the empire of the caliphs had been overthrown by the Turcomans. It is a needless trouble to search for the origin of these Turks; it is the same as that of all other conquering people: they were at first savages, living upon rapine. The Turks formerly inhabited a country beyond Mount Taurus and the Imaus, and, as some say, a great distance from the Araxes: they were comprehended among those Tartars whom the

ancients called by the name of Scythians. The great continent of Tartary, which is much larger than all Europe, has never been inhabited by others than Barbarians; and their antiquities are little more deserving of a regular history than are the bears and wolves of their country. About the eleventh century they extended themselves towards Muscovy, and overran the borders of the Caspian and Black Seas. The Arabs, under the first successor of Mahomet, had subdued almost all Asia Minor, Syria, and Persia; at length the Turcomans came and subdued the Arabs.

A caliph of the line of the Abbassides, called Motassem, son of the great Al-Mamun, grandson of the famous Haroun-al-Raschid, and contemporary with our Louis the Débonnaire, being like his predecessors, a protector and encourager of the arts, laid the first stone of that edifice under which his successors were at length crushed. This prince sent for a body of Turkish militia to be his guard, and never was there a stronger example of the danger of introducing forĕign troops; five or six hundred Turks in the pay of Motassem, became the founders of the Ottoman power, which has swallowed up every other power from the Euphrates to the extremity of Greece; and in our time has even laid siege to the city of Vienna, the capital of the German Empire. This Turkish militia, growing in time more numerous, became at length fatal to its masters. A fresh body of Turks now came in, and took advantage of

the civil war raised against the caliphs and their empire. The caliphs of Bagdad, of the race of the Abbassides, soon saw themselves stripped of Syria, Egypt, and Africa, by the caliphs of the Fatimian line; and the Turks stripped both of them.

Thogrul-Beg, or Ortogrul-Beg, from whom they make the Ottoman race to descend, entered Bagdad nearly in the same manner as the emperors have entered into Rome; and made himself master of the person and capital of the caliph, Caiem, while he prostrated himself at his feet; he then conducted him into his palace, holding the reins of his mule: but having either better fortune or more skill than the German emperors when in Rome, he established his power, and left nothing more to the caliph but the office of beginning prayers every Friday at the mosque, and the empty honor of investing with their dominions all the Mahometan tyrants who thought proper to make themselves sovereigns.

It should be remembered, that as the Turcomans imitated the Franks, the Normans, and the Goths, in their irruptions; they imitated them likewise in submitting to the laws, customs, and religion of the people they conquered. In like manner did other Tartars behave to the Chinese; and this is an advantage which every civilized people, though ever so weak, ought to have over barbarians, though ever so strong.

Thus the caliphs became only the chiefs of religion, like the dairi or high-priest of Japan, who has

the appearance of reigning in Cubosama, and indeed is obeyed in these dominions; or like the xerif of Mecca, who calls the sultan of the Turks his vicar; or lastly, such as the popes were under the kings of Lombardy: though I am far from intending to compare the throne of error to that of truth; I am only comparing the revolutions which have happened to each, and remarking that the caliphs were once the most powerful sovereigns of the East, while the Roman pontiffs were of little or no note. The empire of the caliphs, however, has now fallen beyond a possibility of recovery, and the popes have little by little become mighty sovereigns, confirmed in their power, and respected by the neighboring nations; and have made Rome one of the most beautiful cities of the world.

At the time of the first crusade, there was a caliph at Bagdad who bestowed investitures, and a Turkish sultan who reigned. Several other Turkish usurpers, with some Arabians, had settled themselves in Persia, in Arabia, and in Asia Minor. Everything was in a state of division, which seemed to promise success to the Crusades; but then every one was up in arms, and these people were to be attacked in their own territories, where they must fight with the advantage greatly on their side.

The empire of Constantinople still maintained its authority; it had been governed by some princes not unworthy of reigning. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, son of Leo the Philosopher, and himself a

philosopher, following the footsteps of his father, made his reign happy; and if the government fell into contempt under Romanus, the son of this Constantine, it became respectable again under the reign of Nicephorus Phocas, who recovered Candia in the year 961, before he became emperor. John Zimisces indeed assassinated this emperor, and stained the imperial palace with the blood of his sovereign; he even added hypocrisy to his other crimes; but then on the other hand he defended the empire against the invasions of the Turks and Bulgarians. But Michael Paphlagonatus lost Sicily, and Romanus Diogenes almost all that remained in the East, except the province of Pontus. That province, which is now called Turcomania, soon afterward fell into the hands of Solyman the Turk, who now became master of the greatest part of Asia Minor, fixed the seat of his dominion at Nicæa, whence he threatened Constantinople with an invasion, at the time that the Crusades were first set on foot.

The Greek Empire then, on the side of the Turks, was almost confined to the imperial city, but it still extended through all Greece. Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Thrace, Illyricum, and even included the isle of Candia. The continual wars in which it was engaged against the Turks, though nearly always unsuccessful, served to keep up the remains of courage in the people. All the rich Christians of Asia, who were unwilling to submit to the Mahometan yoke, had retired into the imperial city, which

by these means became enriched with the spoils of the provinces. In short, notwithstanding the various losses it had sustained, notwithstanding the vices and revolutions among its governors, this city, though in its decline, yet immense, populous, opulent, and the centre of voluptuousness and pleasure, still considered itself as the capital of the world. The inhabitants no longer called themselves Greeks, but Romans; their state was a Roman state; and the western nations, whom they called Latins, were looked upon by them as a set of rebellious barbarians.

Palestine was then what it is at present, the worst of all the inhabited countries of Asia. This little province, which is about forty-five leagues in length, and from thirty to thirty-five in breadth, is almost wholly covered with barren rocks, on which there is hardly a handful of earth: were it cultivated, it might be compared to Switzerland. The River Jordan, which in its broadest part is about fifty feet wide, resembles the Aar, which flows through a valley less barren than the rest of Switzerland; and the Sea of Tiberias may be likened to the lake of Geneva. However, those travellers who have examined both these countries, all give the preference to Switzerland. It is not likely that Judæa might have been better cultivated when in possession of the Jews; they were obliged to spread a little earth upon the face of the rocks, in order to plant their vines. This small quantity of earth, mixed with the splin-

ters of the rocks, was supported by low walls, the remains of which are still to be seen at certain distances.

Notwithstanding all this care, Palestine could never furnish subsistence for its inhabitants; and as the Swiss cantons send out the superfluity of their people to serve in the armies of foreign princes who are willing to take them into pay, in like manner the Jews went abroad to follow the trade of brokers in Asia and Africa; and as soon as Alexandria was built, they settled there. The trading Jews hardly ever resided in Jerusalem; and I question whether, in the most flourishing times of this little state, it had any members so wealthy as the Hebrews who now live at Amsterdam and The Hague.

When Omar, who succeeded Mahomet, made himself master of the fruitful country of Syria, he took Palestine; and as the Mahometans look upon Jerusalem as a holy city, he embellished it with a magnificent mosque, built of marble, and covered with lead; the inside adorned with a prodigious number of silver lamps, among which there were many of pure gold. When the Turks, who had already embraced Mahometanism, afterward made themselves masters of this country, in the year 1055, they paid great respect to this mosque, and the city still continued peopled with seven or eight thousand inhabitants, which was the most its walls were then capable of containing, or the surrounding country able to nourish. This people got their wealth almost

entirely by the pilgrimages made to their city by the Christians and Mussulmans, the former to visit the holy sepulchre, and the latter the famous mosque. Every pilgrim paid a certain acknowledgment to the Turkish emir, who resided in the city, and something to the imams, who lived by showing the curiosities of the place to those who were desirous of seeing them.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE FIRST CRUSADE, UNTIL THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM.

Such was the state of Asia Minor, when a pilgrim of Amiens stirred up the Crusades: he was then known only by the name of Coucoupetre, or Cucupietre, as we are told by the daughter of Emperor Comnenus, who saw this hermit at Constantinople; he is known to us by the name of Peter the Hermit. However, this man, who was a native of Picardy, and had all the obstinacy of his countrymen, was so incensed at the exactions which he had met with at Jerusalem, talked of them on his return to Rome in such strong terms, and painted them in so striking a light, that Pope Urban II. thought him the most proper person he could pitch upon to second the design which the popes had a long time before conceived of arming Christendom against the Mahometans: accordingly he despatched Peter through all the provinces, to communicate, by the force of

his strong imagination, the warmth of his sentiments, and to sow the seeds of enthusiasm.

1094 — Urban II. held a council in the open fields, near Placentia, at which were present more than thirty thousand seculars, besides ecclesiastics. At this council they deliberated on the best method of avenging the cause of Christianity upon the infidels. Alexis Comnenus, the Grecian emperor, father of that princess who wrote the history of her times, sent ambassadors to this council to demand assistance against the Mussulmans; but he had no reason to expect it either from the pope or the Italians. The Normans had then taken Naples and Sicily from the Greeks. The pope, who wanted at least to be lord paramount of these kingdoms, being likewise the rival of the Greek Church, became, in consequence of this situation, the declared enemy of the Eastern emperors, as he was in private of the emperors of the West. The pope therefore was so far from succoring the Greeks, that he aimed at bringing the whole East into subjection to the Latins.

But, although the project of carrying the war into Palestine was so applauded by all the members of the Council of Placentia, there were none who embraced it. The principal Italian lords had too much business of their own to manage at home, and would not quit a delightful country, to go and fight on the borders of Arabia Petræa.

1095 — The pope, therefore, found it necessary to

call another council at Clermont, in Auvergne, where he made a speech in the market-place. In Italy they wept over the calamities of the Christians in Asia, but in France they took up arms for their defence. This country was peopled by a great number of new lords, who were restless, independent, and fond of a life of war and dissipation, for the most part plunged in crimes that are the consequences of debauchery, and in an ignorance equal to that debauchery. To these the pope promised the remission of all their sins, and to open to them the gates of heaven, only imposing on them as a penance, the indulging of their favorite passion for war and plunder. Upon this they strove as to who should be foremost to take up the cross; and then the churches and religious orders purchased, for a trifling consideration, many of the estates of the lords, who supposed that they should want only a very little money, and their own arms, to conquer kingdoms in Asia. Thus, for example, Godfrey of Bouillon sold his estate of Bouillon to the chapter of Liège, and Stenay to the bishop of Verdun; Baldwin, Godfrey's brother, sold to this same bishop the possessions he had in that country. The inferior lords of manors set out at their own expense, and the poorer gentlemen followed them as squires. The spoils were to be divided according to the rank and expenses of the Crusaders; this occasioned some disputes, but at the same time it proved a powerful motive to proceed, and religion, avarice, and restlessness all con-

spired to spur on these emigrations. They enlisted an infinite number of infantry and horsemen, under a thousand different banners. This crowd of Crusaders made their rendezvous at Constantinople: monks, women, merchants, victuallers, mechanics, all set out, imagining that they should find the road lined with Christians, ready to gain indulgences by furnishing them with subsistence. Over eighty thousand of these vagabonds assembled under the banner of Coucoupetre, whom I shall for the future call Peter the Hermit, and who walked at the head of the army with sandals on his feet, and a rope tied around his waist. A new species of vanity!

The first expedition of this hermit general was the besieging a Christian city in Hungary, called Malavilla, because the inhabitants refused to furnish the soldiers of Jesus Christ with provisions, who, notwithstanding the pretended sanctity of their enterprise, behaved like a troop of highway robbers. The city was taken by assault, given up to plunder, and the inhabitants put to the sword. The Hermit was then no longer master of his Crusaders, who were intoxicated with the thirst of plunder: one of his lieutenants, called *Gautier sans Argent,* or Walter the Moneyless, who commanded half of his forces, behaved in the same manner in Bulgaria. The countries through which they passed soon joined to oppose these public robbers, and they were almost all of them cut off; and the Hermit, after the greatest fatigue, arrived at length before Con-

stantinople with twenty thousand starving persons. A German preacher, called Godeschalcus, attempting to play the same game, was still worse treated; for as soon as he arrived with his disciples in that same kingdom of Hungary, where his predecessors had formerly committed so many excesses, the very sight of the red cross which they wore was like a signal, at which the natives fell upon them, and massacred every man.

Another tribe of these adventurers, composed of above two hundred thousand persons, women, priests, scholars, and peasants, imagining that they were going to defend Jesus Christ, thought they ought to exterminate all the Jews they found in their way. There were great numbers of these on the frontiers of France, and they had almost all the trade of the kingdom in their hands. The Christians, thinking they were avenging the cause of God, fell upon these unhappy people, and put them all to the sword. Never had this nation suffered so bloody a massacre since the time of Adrian; they were butchered at Verdun, Spires, Worms, Cologne, and Mentz; and numbers laid violent hands on themselves, after having ripped open the bellies of their wives, to prevent their falling into the hands of their barbarous persecutors. Hungary, however, proved the grave of this third army of Crusaders.

In the meantime Peter the Hermit, while he was lying before Constantinople, found a fresh recruit of Italian and German vagabonds, who joined him,

and plundered all the country around the city. The emperor, Alexis Comnenus, who governed at that time, was certainly a prince of great wisdom and moderation; he contented himself with getting rid, as soon as possible, of such troublesome guests, by furnishing them with vessels to transport them to the other side of the Bosphorus. General Peter at length saw himself at the head of a Christian army, ready to give battle to the Mussulmans. Solyman, sultan of Nice, with a body of disciplined troops, fell upon this scattered multitude, and Walter the Moneyless, with many of the poor nobility, was slain. The Hermit, however, made his way back to Constantinople, where he was looked upon as a fanatic, who had enlisted a multitude of madmen to follow him.

This however was not the case with respect to the other chiefs of the Crusades, some of whom were more politic, had less enthusiasm, and were more accustomed to command; besides, they had troops that were a little better disciplined. Godfrey of Bouillon was at the head of seventy thousand foot and ten thousand horse, armed *cap-a-pie,* under the banners of a great number of lords, who all ranged themselves under his standard.

In the meantime Hugh, brother of Philip I., king of France, marched through Italy, accompanied by several other lords, who had joined him, and went in search of adventures; almost the whole of his fortune consisting in the title of brother to a king,

who himself was not very powerful. But what appears still more strange is, that Robert, duke of Normandy, eldest son of William the Conqueror, left his duchy, in which he was scarcely established, and, after being driven out of England by his younger brother, William Rufus, mortgaged Normandy to him, to furnish the expenses of this armament. He is said to have been a debauched and superstitious prince, two qualities which always proceed from a weakness of understanding, and which now prompted him to engage in this expedition.

Old Raymond, count of Toulouse, who governed Languedoc and part of Provence, and who had before fought against the Mussulmans in Spain, did not think his age, or the interests of his country, sufficient reasons against the ardent desire he had of visiting Palestine: accordingly he was one of the first who appeared in arms, and soon after passed the Alps at the head of nearly one hundred thousand men. He did not then foresee that very soon a crusade would be preached up against his own family.

The most politic of all the Crusaders, and perhaps the only politician among them, was Bohemond, son of that Robert Guiscard who conquered Sicily. This whole family, on its being transplanted into Italy, sought to aggrandize themselves, sometimes at the expense of the popes, sometimes on the ruins of the Greek Empire. This Bohemond had for a long time maintained a war against Emperor Alexis, both in Epirus and Greece. Having no other inherit-

ance than the small principality of Tarentum and his own valor, he took advantage of the epidemic enthusiasm of Europe, to assemble under his banner ten thousand horsemen well armed, and some infantry, with which he hoped to be able to conquer a few provinces, either from the Christians or the Infidels.

Princess Anna Comnena observes that her father was greatly alarmed at these prodigious emigrations which poured in upon his country. "One would have imagined," says she, "that all Europe, rent from its foundations, was going to fall upon Asia." What would she have said then, had the three hundred thousand men, part of which followed Peter the Hermit, and the rest the priest, Godeschalcus, still continued in being?

A proposal was made to the pope, for him to put himself at the head of these immense armies which were still left. This was the only sure method of arriving at universal monarchy, which had now become the darling object of the court of Rome; but this enterprise, which Pope Gregory VII. had indeed the boldness to conceive, required the genius of a Mahomet or an Alexander to execute. The obstacles were numerous and great, and Urban considered only the obstacles.

The pope and the princes who had taken up the cross, had their different views in this grand affair; and Constantinople stood in dread of them all. The

Latins were universally hated there, and considered as heretics and barbarians.

Those the Greeks feared the most, and with reason too, were Bohemond and his Neapolitans, as being enemies to the empire. But supposing the designs of Bohemond to have been just, what right had these western princes to come and seize for themselves the provinces which the Turks had taken from the Greek emperors?

We may form some idea of the brutal arrogance of these lords of the Crusade, from the story related by Princess Anna Comnena, of a certain French count, who, at a public ceremony, seated himself by the emperor's side on his throne; and when Baldwin, brother of Godfrey of Bouillon, took hold of his hand to make him retire, the indiscreet wretch cried aloud in his barbarous jargon: *Voilà un plaisant rustre que ce Grec, de s'asseoir devant des gens comme nous.*"—"A pretty clown of a Greek this, to sit down before such men as we are!" These words were interpreted to Alexis, who only smiled at them. One or two indiscretions of this kind are sufficient to disgrace a whole nation.

It was morally impossible that such guests should not demand provisions with arrogance, and that the Greeks should not refuse them with contempt. This was the cause of continual skirmishes between the natives and Godfrey's army, which was the first that appeared after the rapacious followers of Peter the Hermit. Godfrey, at length, went so far as to

attack the suburbs of Constantinople, which the emperor defended in person. The bishop of Puy in Auvergne, the pope's legate in the army of the Crusade, was absolutely for having them begin their expedition against the infidels, by laying siege to the city that was the residence of the chief of all the Christian princes. Bohemond, who was then in Sicily, was of the same opinion, and sent courier after courier, to dissuade Godfrey from coming to an agreement with the emperor. Hugh, brother of the king of France, had at the same time the imprudence to leave Sicily, where he then was with Bohemond, and to transport himself almost alone into the territories of Alexis. To this act of indiscretion, he added that of writing letters full of the most insolent expressions, which was very imprudent, as well as unbecoming in a person who had not an army at his command. The consequence of this behavior was his being seized, and detained prisoner for some time. At length, however, the emperor, by a prudent policy, diverted all these storms. He furnished the Crusaders with provisions, engaged all the principal lords to pay him homage for the lands they should conquer; and after loading them with presents, transported them one after another into Asia. Bohemond, who was the person he dreaded the most, he treated the most magnificently. When that prince came to do him homage at Constantinople, and was viewing the rarities of the palace, Alexis ordered a cabinet to be filled with the curiosities in gold and

silver, of the choicest workmanship, and with jewels of all kinds, thrown together without order, and that the door of this cabinet should be left open. Bohemond, in passing through the apartment, saw this treasure, to which those who conducted him seemed not to pay the least attention. "Is it possible," cried he in the utmost surprise, "that such glorious things as these should be neglected? Were they mine, I should think myself the greatest prince upon earth." The same evening the emperor sent him the cabinet, with all its rich movables. This transaction is related by the emperor's own daughter, who was an eye-witness. Such was the behavior of this prince, whom every disinterested man will style wise and magnificent, but whom the greater part of those who have written the history of the Crusades, have treated as perfidious, because he would not be the slave of a dangerous multitude.

When he had at length got happily rid of them, and they had all passed into Asia Minor, a review was made of the army near Nicæa, when it was found to consist of a hundred thousand horsemen, and six hundred thousand foot, including the women. This number, added to the first Crusaders who perished under the Hermit, and others, makes about one million one hundred thousand, which may justify what is said of the armies of the kings of Persia, who poured in upon Greece, and also what is related of the transplantations of so many barbarians. The French at length, and particularly

Raymond, count of Toulouse, now found themselves in the country which the southern Gauls had traversed thirteen hundred years before, when they went to ravage Asia Minor, and give their name to a province of Galatia.

Historians rarely give us any account how these vast multitudes were supported, although this was a circumstance which requires as much care as the war itself. Venice at first refused to supply them, as she carried on a more profitable trade than ever with the Mahometans, and was afraid of losing the privileges her citizens enjoyed among them. The Genoese, the Pisans, and the Greeks, fitted out vessels laden with provisions, which they sold to the Crusaders in their march along the seacoast of Asia Minor. The Genoese became rich by these means, and the world was astonished to see that state become on a sudden a formidable power.

Old Solyman, the Turkish sultan of Syria, who was under the caliphs of Bagdad what the mayors of the palace were under the race of Clovis, was not able, even with the assistance of his son, to make head against the first torrent of all these princes engaged in the Crusade, their troops being better chosen than those of Peter the Hermit, and disciplined as well as their licentiousness and enthusiasm would permit.

1097 — Nicæa was taken, and Solyman's army, commanded by his son, twice beaten. The Turks and Arabians were unable at first to stand the shock

of such multitudes cased in iron, their great war-horses, and those forests of spears to which they had never been accustomed.

Bohemond had the art to prevail on the Crusaders to yield him the fruitful country of Antioch. Count Baldwin went as far as Mesopotamia, where he took the city of Edessa, and formed a little state. At length the Crusaders laid siege to Jerusalem, of which the caliph of Egypt had taken possession by his lieutenants. Most historians tell us that the army of the besiegers was diminished by skirmishes, sickness, and the garrisons they left in the conquered towns, to twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse; and that Jerusalem was plentifully provided with everything, and defended by a garrison of forty thousand soldiers; they take care to add, at the same time, that besides their garrison, there were twenty thousand inhabitants determined to defend it to the last extremity. But what reader is there in his senses, who must not see that it is morally impossible for an army of twenty thousand men to besiege one of sixty thousand in a fortified place: but historians are always fond of the marvellous.

1099 —The truth is, that after five weeks' siege the city was taken by assault, and that all those who were not Christians were massacred. Peter the Hermit, who from being a general had become a chaplain, was present at the taking of the city, and at the massacre which ensued. Some Christians,

whom the Mussulmans had suffered to live in the city, led the conquerors into the private caves and hiding places, where the mothers had taken shelter with their children, who were all put to the sword. All historians agree, that after this butchery, the Christians, besmeared and dropping with blood, went in procession to the place where they were told was the sepulchre of Christ, and there burst into tears. It is very probable that they might give some signs of religion while in that holy place; but a tenderness which showed itself in tears is hardly to be reconciled with the giddy, furious, debauched, and cruel turn of mind they showed on these occasions. A man may be both furious and tender, but not at the same time.

The Crusaders made themselves masters of Jerusalem on July 5, 1099, at the time that Alexis Comnenus was emperor of the East, Henry IV. of the West, and while Urban II., the Roman pontiff, was yet living, who died, however, before he received the news of the success of this Crusade, of which he had been the author.

The lords being now masters of Jerusalem, immediately assembled to choose a king of Judæa. The ecclesiastics who had followed the army were present at this assembly, and had the insolence to declare, that such an election would be void and null, because, said they, the election of a patriarch should always precede that of a king.

Notwithstanding this declaration, Godfrey of

Bouillon was chosen, not king, but duke of Jerusalem. A few months after, a legate named d'Amberto arrived there, and got himself nominated patriarch by the clergy, when the first thing that he did was to claim the little kingdom of Jerusalem for himself; and Godfrey, who had conquered the city at the hazard of his life, was obliged to yield it to this bishop. He however reserved the port of Joppa, and some privileges in Jerusalem: but his own country which he had quitted was far superior to anything he had acquired in Palestine.

CHAPTER XLV.

CRUSADES AFTER THE TAKING OF JERUSALEM.

From the fourth century, one-third of the globe had been a prey to almost perpetual emigrations. The Huns, who came from Chinese Tartary, settled themselves at last on the banks of the Danube, and thence having penetrated, under their leader Attila, into the two Gauls and Italy, they remained fixed in Hungary. The Heruli and the Goths made themselves masters of Rome. The Vandals came from the coasts of the Baltic Sea, and conquered Spain and Africa. The Burgundians invaded one of the Gauls, and the Franks entered the other. The Moors enslaved the Visigoths, who had possession of Spain, while another nation of Arabs extended their conquests into Persia, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. The Turks came from the borders of the

Caspian Sea, and divided among them the territories which the Arabs had conquered. The European crusaders overflowed Syria in much larger numbers than all the other nations together mustered in their emigrations, while the Tartar, Genghis Khan, subdued Upper Asia. And yet after some time there did not remain the least footsteps of the conquests of the Crusaders; whereas, on the contrary, Genghis, the Arabs, the Turks, and other nations, have formed considerable establishments at a very great distance from their native countries. We may perhaps easily discover the true causes of the little successes of the Crusaders.

The same circumstances produce the same effects. We have seen that when Mahomet's successors had conquered a number of kingdoms, they were divided by discord: the Crusaders experienced nearly the same fate, only they conquered fewer countries, and were sooner divided. There were already three petty Christian states formed in Asia, namely: Antioch, Jerusalem, and Edessa; a few years after, there was a fourth erected, which was that of Tripoli, in Syria, given to young Bertrand, son of the count of Toulouse. But, in order to make the conquest of Tripoli, they were obliged to have recourse to the Venetians for ships, who then entered into the Crusade, and made the others yield them up a part of this conquest.

Of all the new princes who had promised to pay homage for their acquisitions to the Greek emperor,

not one kept his word, and all were jealous of each other. In a little time, these new states, after being divided and subdivided, passed into many different hands; and there rose up, the same as in France, several petty lords; as counts of Joppa, and marquises of Galilee, Sidon, Acre, and Cæsarea. Solyman, who had lost Antioch and Nice, still kept the open country, which was inhabited by Mahometan tribes; so that, both during Solyman's time and after, there was in Asia a mixture of Christians, Turks, and Arabs, who were perpetually at war with each other; and a Turkish and a Christian castle were frequently found in the same neighborhood, as to this day in Germany the estates of the Protestants and Catholics are mutually intermingled.

Of the million who had entered into this Crusade, very few were now remaining. The fame of their successes had drawn a swarm of new adventurers out of the West. Prince Hugh, brother of Philip I., brought a fresh multitude, which was continually swelled by Italians and Germans, who joined them on their way; these have been computed at three hundred thousand; but if we reduce this number to two-thirds, there will still remain two hundred thousand men lost to Christendom: for these, when near Constantinople, were treated in much the same manner as the followers of Peter the Hermit had been; while those who landed in Asia were cut to pieces by the troops of Solyman; and Prince Hugh died almost deserted in Asia Minor.

But what further proves, in my opinion, the extreme weakness of Jerusalem, is the establishment of those religious bodies of soldiery, the Templars and Hospitallers: for undoubtedly these monks, who were originally instituted to attend the sick, did not think themselves in safety, since they took up arms. Besides, when the community is well governed, private associations are seldom made.

The religious, consecrated to the service of the wounded, having made a vow to take up arms in the year 1118, there was suddenly formed a militia of the same sort, under the name of Templars, who took this title on account of their living near to that church which, it was said, had been formerly the temple of Solomon. These establishments owe their foundation entirely to the French, or at least to the inhabitants of a country since annexed to France. Raymond Dupuy, first grand master and founder of the militia of Hospitallers, was born in Dauphiny.

No sooner were these two orders established by the pope's bulls, than they became rich, and rivals, and fought as often against each other as against the Mussulmans. Soon after this order, a new one was established in favor of the poor Christians who had been abandoned in Palestine; this was the order of the Teutonic monks, which afterward in Europe became a militia of conquerors.

In short, the situation of the Christians was so precarious that Baldwin, the first king of Jerusalem, who reigned after the death of his brother Godfrey,

was taken prisoner almost at the very gates of the city by a Turkish prince.

The Christians began to grow more and more weak every day in those countries which they had conquered. The first conquerors were no more, and their successors were sunk in effeminacy. The little kingdom of Edessa had already been taken by the Turks in 1140, and Jerusalem itself was threatened. The emperors, finding that their neighbors, the princes of Antioch, were only new usurpers, made war on them, and not without reason; upon which the Christians of Asia, ready to be overpowered on every side, solicited Europe for a new Crusade.

The French had begun the first inundation, therefore they were applied to, in order to make a second. Pope Eugenius III., the disciple of St. Bernard, the founder of Clairvaux, very wisely pitched upon his first master to be the instrument of a new depopulation. Never did gownman better reconcile the hurry of business with the austerity of his profession, nor had any one ever attained to so high a degree of personal respect, which is always above authority itself. His fellow-student, Abbot Suger, was prime minister of France; his disciple was pope; but Bernard, though not more than abbot of Clairvaux, was the oracle not only of France, but also of Europe.

1146 — At Vézelay in Burgundy, a platform was erected in the public market-place, on which Bernard appeared by the side of Louis the Young, king of France. He spoke first, the king seconded him, and

was the first who took the cross from the hands of St. Bernard, and his example was followed by all present. Suger, the prime minister, would fain have dissuaded the king from abandoning the certain advantages he might make in his own dominions, to go to Hungary in search of precarious conquests; but the eloquence of St. Bernard, and the prevailing spirit of the times, without which that eloquence would have been nothing, carried it against the prudent advice of the minister.

We have had Louis the Young represented as a prince rather scrupulous than virtuous. In one of those civil wars, which the feudal government in France rendered unavoidable, the king's troops had burned the church of Vitry, and the people, who had taken refuge there, all perished in the flames. They easily found means to persuade the king that he had no other way of expiating this guilt but by a journey to Palestine; whereas, he might have made a much more suitable reparation by staying at home, and governing his kingdom in a wise and prudent manner. His young wife, Eleanor of Guienne, engaged to accompany him in this Crusade, either because she then loved him, or because the customs of those times made it a point of decency to follow her husband to those wars.

St. Bernard had acquired so extraordinary a reputation in this affair that, in a new assembly held at Chartres, he was chosen chief of the Crusade. This may appear an almost incredible fact; but every-

thing is to be believed of the religious frenzy of the populace. St. Bernard had too much understanding to expose himself to the ridicule which would have attended a step of this kind. The example of Peter the Hermit was recent in the minds of everyone: he therefore wisely refused the office of general, and contented himself with that of prophet.

From France he went to Germany, where he met with another monk who was preaching up the Crusade; but he soon silenced this rival, who had not the pope's mission; and at length he gave the red cross to Emperor Conrad III., and made him a public promise, in the name of God, of victory over the Infidels. Soon after this, one of his disciples, named Philip, wrote over to France, that Bernard had performed a great number of miracles since he had been in Germany: it was not indeed pretended that he raised the dead to life; but the blind received sight, the lame walked, and the sick were healed. We may reckon among these prodigies that he always preached to the Germans in French.

The hope of certain victory drew after the emperor and the king of France a majority of the knights in their dominions; and it is said, that in each army there were reckoned seventy thousand men, in complete armor, with a prodigious number of light horse, exclusive of the infantry: so that we cannot well reduce this second emigration to less than three hundred thousand persons, who, joined to one million three hundred thousand sent before,

make in the whole one million six hundred thousand transplanted inhabitants. The Germans were the first who took the field, the French followed them. It is natural, that of so great a multitude, numbers must have been carried off by sickness, upon going into a different climate. Intemperance, however, produced a mortality in Conrad's army, near the plains of Constantinople, which occasioned the report that was spread through the West, of the Greeks having poisoned the wells and fountains. The same excesses that had been committed by the former Crusaders were acted over again by these; which gave Manuel Comnenus the same apprehensions as they had done to his grandfather Alexis.

Conrad, after he had passed the Bosphorus, acted with that imprudence which is always annexed to such expeditions. The principality of Antioch was yet in being, and the emperor might have joined those Christians which were in Syria, and have waited for the king of France; then their numbers would have insured them success; but instead of this, the emperor being jealous both of the prince of Antioch and the king of France, marches on into the midst of Asia Minor, where the sultan of Iconium, who was a more able general than himself, drew his heavy German cavalry among the rocks; where, fatigued, dispirited, and incapable of acting on such ground, they fell an easy prey to the Turks, who had no other trouble than that of killing them. The emperor being wounded, and left with only a few

flying squadrons about him, fled to Antioch, whence he went to Jerusalem as a pilgrim, instead of appearing there as the leader of an army. The famous Frederick Barbarossa, his nephew, and successor in the German Empire, attended him in all these journeys, and learned among the Turks to exercise that courage, which the popes afterward put to the severest trial.

Louis the Young met with the same success in his enterprise. It must be acknowledged that his followers were not more prudent than the Germans, and had far less justice on their side. As soon as he arrived in Thrace, a bishop of Langres offered to make him master of Constantinople; but the disgrace that would have attended such an action was too apparent, and the success too doubtful. The French army therefore crossed the Hellespont, and pursued the same route as Emperor Conrad had done.

Everyone, I imagine, must have observed that these powerful Christian armies carried on a war in the country where Alexander the Great was always victorious, with much fewer troops, over an enemy far more powerful than the Turks and Arabs were at that time. There must then certainly have been some fundamental defect in the military discipline of these princes that rendered their courage useless; and this defect probably was the spirit of independence, which the feudal government had introduced into Europe. Thus chiefs, without either

art or experience, took upon themselves to conduct a disorderly multitude through unknown countries. The king of France fell into the same snare as the emperor; and being surprised with his army among the rocks near Laodicea, was there beaten as he had been; but Louis, on his return to Antioch, met with some domestic misfortunes, which affected him much more sensibly than the public calamities. Raymond, prince of Antioch, at whose court he had taken refuge, with his wife Eleanor, was suspected of entertaining a passion for that princess. It is even said that she forgot all the fatigues of her late painful journey, in the arms of a young Turk of surprising beauty, named Saladin. The conclusion of the whole enterprise was, that the emperor Conrad returned almost alone to Germany, and Louis carried back with him to France only his wife and a few of his courtiers. On his return he annulled his marriage with Eleanor of Guienne, and thus lost that fine French province, after having lost in Asia the most promising army that his country had ever set on foot. A thousand ruined families in vain cried out against St. Bernard for his prophecies: he excused himself upon the example of Moses, with whom he compared himself; and who, like him, he said, had promised the Israelites, in God's name, to conduct them into a happy country, and yet saw the first generation perish in the desert.

After these unfortunate expeditions, the Christians in Asia became more divided among themselves

than ever. The same madness raged among the Mussulmans. The pretence of religion had no longer any share in political affairs; on the contrary, about the year 1166, Amaury, king of Jerusalem, entered into an alliance with the sultan of Egypt against the Turks; but the king of Jerusalem had hardly signed the treaty when he broke it.

In the midst of all these disorders arose the great Saladin: he was of Persian extraction, and born in the small country of the Kurds, a nation always warlike, and always free. He was one of those captains who made themselves masters of the caliph's territories, and was excelled in valor by no one. In a short time he conquered Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, and Mesopotamia; and finding himself master of such a large extent of country, soon formed the design of conquering the kingdom of Jerusalem. This little state was rent by violent factions, and was every day hastening to its ruin.

Guy of Lusignan, who had received the crown, but a crown which was disputed him, assembled in Galilee all the divided Christians whom the prospect of approaching danger now united, and marched against Saladin; the bishop of Ptolemais, wearing a cape over his armor, marched at the head of the troops, holding in his arms a cross which he endeavored to persuade the soldiers was the very same on which the Saviour of mankind suffered death. Nevertheless, the Christians were all either killed or made prisoners. The captive monarch, who

expected nothing but death, was astonished to find himself treated by Saladin in the same manner as prisoners of war are nowadays treated by the most humane generals.

1187 — Saladin with his own hands presented Lusignan with a cup of liquor cooled with snow: the king, after having drunk, was going to give the cup to one of his captains, named Renaud de Chatillon. It was an inviolable custom established among the Mussulmans, and which is still kept up among some of the Arabian nations, never to put those prisoners to death to whom they had given meat or drink. This ancient law of hospitality was regarded as sacred by Saladin; therefore he would not suffer Renaud to drink after the king: that captain had several times broken his promise; the conqueror had vowed to punish him; and to show that he knew how to punish as well as to show mercy, he struck off the head of the perfidious wretch with a blow of his sabre. Being before the gates of Jerusalem, which was in no state of defence, he granted the queen, Lusignan's wife, a capitulation she could not hope to obtain; with permission to retire whither she pleased; nor would he take any ransom for the Greeks who lived in the city. When he made his entry into Jerusalem, several women came and threw themselves at his feet, some asking for their husbands, others for their children or fathers, who were his prisoners, whom he ordered to be restored to them, with a generosity of which that part of the

world had not furnished one example. Saladin caused the mosque, which had been converted into a church, to be washed all over with rose water by the Christians, and placed in it a magnificent chair, on which his uncle Noureddin, sultan of Aleppo, had worked with his own hands; and also caused to be engraved over the door these words: "Saladin the king, the servant of God, set up this inscription after God had taken Jerusalem by his hands."

He established Mahometan schools; but notwithstanding his attachment to his religion, he restored the holy sepulchre to the Oriental Christians. We must likewise add, that within the space of a year, he restored Guy of Lusignan his liberty, first making him swear that he would never again carry arms against his deliverer. This oath, however, Lusignan afterward broke.

While Asia Minor had thus been made the theatre of the zeal, glory, crimes, and misfortunes of so many thousands of the Crusaders, the rage of propagating religion sword in hand made its way even to the extremity of the North.

We have a little before seen Charlemagne converting the north of Germany with fire and sword. We have afterward seen the idolatrous Danes making Europe tremble, and conquering Normandy, without ever attempting to force their religion upon the people they had conquered; but scarcely was the Christian religion settled in Denmark, Saxony, and Scandinavia, when a crusade was preached against

the pagans of the North, whom they called Slavs; whence the country which borders upon Hungary is called Slavonia. The Christians took up arms against them from Bremen to the extremities of Scandinavia, and upward of one hundred thousand crusaders marched to carry destruction among these idolaters, of whom they killed vast numbers without making a single convert. We may add the loss of these hundred thousand men to the sixteen hundred thousand which the mad fanaticism of those times had cost Europe.

1188—While these things were occurring in the North, the Asiatic Christians had lost all they possessed there, except Antioch, Tripoli, Joppa, and the city of Tyre; Saladin being master of all the rest, either by himself, or by his son-in-law, the sultan of Iconium.

All Europe was alarmed at the rumor of Saladin's victories. Pope Clement III. stirred up France, England, and Germany. Philip Augustus, who at that time sat on the throne of France, and old Henry II., who was king of England, suspended their private differences, and placed all their emulation in marching to the relief of the Christians in Asia. They both caused proclamation to be made throughout their dominions, that such of their subjects as would not take up the cross should pay the value of the tenth part of their revenues and movable effects, toward defraying the expense of the armament.

This was called the Saladin tithe, a tax which served as an additional trophy to the conqueror.

Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, so famous for the persecutions he suffered from the popes, and which he made them suffer in their turn, took up the cross about this time. He seemed to be among the Christians of Asia what Saladin was among the Turks, an able politician, a good soldier, tried by fortune, and at the head of an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. He at first took the precaution to order that no one should take the cross, who was not worth at least one hundred and fifty franks, current money; to the end that every one might, by his own means, prevent the dreadful dearth which had so greatly contributed to ruin the preceding armies.

Frederick was obliged to turn his arms first against the Greeks. The court of Constantinople, wearied with being continually threatened by the Latins, entered into an alliance with Saladin. This alliance disgusted all the Christian powers of Europe; but it was evident that there was no avoiding it. We are not naturally fond of having connections or alliance with a known enemy, without an urgent necessity. Our alliance at present with the Turks, though much less necessary, perhaps, does not occasion any murmuring. Frederick opened a passage through Thrace, sword in hand, against the emperor, Isaac Angelus, and having conquered the Greeks, he afterward gained two victories over the sultan of Iconium; but bathing himself in a

river — some say the Cydnus — when in a profuse sweat, he lost his life, and his conquests thereby became of no advantage. They had certainly cost him very dear, since his son, the duke of Suabia, could bring together no more than seven or eight thousand men, out of one hundred and fifty thousand that had followed his father: these he conducted to Antioch, and incorporated them with the remains of the army of Guy of Lusignan, who was determined again to attack his conqueror and deliver Saladin, in defiance of the oath he had taken, and the great inequality of their forces.

After several battles, none of which were decisive, the son of Frederick Barbarossa, who might have been emperor of the West, was killed near Ptolemais. Those writers who tell us that he died a martyr to his chastity, and might have survived, could he have prevailed on himself to make use of women, show themselves bold panegyrists, but very indifferent naturalists. The same thing has been said since of Louis VIII., king of France.

Asia Minor was a gulf into which Europe seemed hastening to plunge itself. Not only Frederick's immense army was lost, but the fleets of England, France, Italy, and Germany, that arrived before Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur de Lion had brought fresh Crusaders, and consequently fresh victims.

The kings of France and England at length arrived in Syria before Ptolemais: almost all the

eastern Christians were assembled to carry on the siege of this city. Saladin was employed on the borders of the Euphrates with a civil war. When the two kings had joined their forces to those of the eastern Christians, the whole was computed to amount to above three hundred thousand men.

1190 — Ptolemais indeed was taken; but the jealousy and discord which naturally arose between two such rivals in power and interest as Philip and Richard, produced more mischievous effects than these three hundred thousand performed successful exploits. Philip, grown weary of these animosities, and still more of the superiority which Richard assumed on all occasions, though his vassal, returned in disgust to France, which perhaps he should never have left; but to which likewise he should never have returned, unless with more credit.

Richard, now left master of the field of honor, but not of that multitude of Crusaders, more divided amongst themselves than the two kings had been, in vain gave proofs of the most heroic valor. Saladin, who was returning victorious from Mesopotamia, gave battle to the Crusaders near Cæsarea, when Richard had the honor of disarming that great warrior, which was almost the only advantage he gained by this memorable expedition.

1191 — Fatigues, sickness, skirmishes, and continual quarrels ruined this great army, and Richard returned home with more glory indeed than Philip Augustus, but in a manner much less prudent. He

set sail with a single ship, and that being cast away on the coast of Venice, he was obliged to cross Germany in disguise, and very badly attended. When in Syria, he had, by his haughty behavior, given great offence to a duke of Austria, and now he had the imprudence to pass through his territories. The duke ordered him to be seized, loaded him with chains, and delivered him up to that cruel and dastardly prince, the emperor Henry VI., who kept him confined as if he had been an enemy taken in war, and, it is said, demanded a hundred thousand marks of silver for his ransom.

1195 — Saladin, who had entered into a treaty with Richard, by which he left to the Christians all the seacoast from Tyre to Joppa, and who during his lifetime adhered faithfully to his engagements, died three years after at Damascus, admired even by the Christians. In his last illness, instead of the standard which used to be displayed before the door of his palace, he ordered the sheet to be hung up in which he was to be buried; and the person who carried this ensign of mortality, cried with a loud voice, "Behold all that Saladin, conqueror of the East, has gained by his victories." They say that by his last will he left a sum to be equally distributed between the poor Mahometans, Jews, and Christians; intending by this disposition to inculcate that all men are brethren; and that, when we would assist them, we are not to inquire what they believe, but what they suffer.

The ardor for crusades still continued as warm as ever, and the wars which were carried on by Philip Augustus against England and Germany did not prevent a great number of the French lords from engaging in these chimerical expeditions. Baldwin, count of Flanders, was the principal promoter of this emigration, as Godfrey of Bouillon had been of the first. This new Crusade, which we may call the fifth, was composed of four thousand knights, nine thousand esquires, and twenty-five thousand infantry.

The republic of Venice, which supported its commerce by war, became every day more and more formidable; and it was thought of more consequence to secure her assistance than that of all the crowned heads of Europe, as she was able to fit out larger fleets than the kings of England, Germany, and France. These industrious republicans gained both wealth and additional territories by this Crusade: for, in the first place, they were paid eighty-five thousand marks of silver merely for the passage of the troops and then they made use of this very armament, to which they added fifty galleys, to make conquests in Dalmatia.

1202 — Pope Innocent III., whether as a matter of form, or because he already feared their rising grandeur, excommunicated these people; but they nevertheless took Zara and its territories, which still added to the strength of their republic.

This Crusade set out under very different circumstances to all others, inasmuch as it found Con-

stantinople divided; whereas the former ones had to do with emperors well settled on the throne. The Venetians, together with the count of Flanders, the marquis of Montferrat, and, in fine, all the principal commanders, who are generally good politicians, however mad and giddy the multitude may be, thought that the time had come for putting in execution a long-formed project against the Greek Empire.

1204 — The Crusaders, who had then the pretence of avenging the death of their creature, took advantage of the seditions that desolated the city, to plunder it. They entered it with little or no resistance; and having put everyone they met to the sword, gave themselves up without restraint to all the excesses of avarice and fury. Nicetas affirms that the booty of the French lords alone was valued at four hundred thousand marks of silver. The very churches were pillaged; and what strongly marks the character of the nation, which has been at all times the same, is, that the French danced with the ladies in the sanctuary of the church of St. Sophia. This was the first time that the city of Constantinople had been taken and sacked; and this was the act of Christians, who had made a vow to fight only against infidels.

We do not find that on this occasion the wild-fire, so much boasted of by historians, had the least effect. Had it been what they represented it, it must always have given certain victory both by sea and land. If it were something resembling our

phosphorus, it might indeed be preserved in water, but then it would have had no effect in that element. In short, notwithstanding this secret, the Turks had taken almost all Asia Minor from the Greeks, and the Latins stripped them of the rest.

Baldwin, count of Flanders, the most powerful of all the Crusaders, got himself elected emperor, and this new emperor condemned the other usurper, Mirziflos, to be thrown headlong from the top of a high column. The other chiefs divided the empire between them. The Venetians took for their share Peloponnesus, the island of Candia, and several cities on the coast of Phrygia, which had not submitted to the Turkish yoke. The marquis of Montferrat took Thessaly. Thus Baldwin had little left, except Thrace and Mœsia. As to the pope, he gained, at least for a time, the whole Eastern Church. This conquest might in time have been worth a kingdom; for Constantinople was of far greater consequence than Jerusalem.

These Crusaders, who thus ruined the Christians, their brethren, might much more easily than any of their predecessors have driven the Turks out of Asia, as the demesnes of Saladin were rent in pieces; but of such a number of knights who had made a vow to go and succor Jerusalem, a very inconsiderable number went into Syria, and those only such as were unable to get any share in the spoils of the Greeks. One of these was Simon de Montfort, who, having in vain attempted to gain dominions in Greece and

Syria, put himself, at length, at the head of a crusade against the Albigenses, in hopes of finding an opportunity, under the sanction of the cross he bore, to usurp something from the Christians.

There still remained a number of princes of the imperial house of Comnenus, who did not lose their courage with the destruction of their empire. One of these, who also bore the name of Alexis, took refuge with a few vessels, on the coast of Colchis, and there, between the sea and Mount Caucasus, erected a petty state, which he called the empire of Trebizond; so much was the word empire abused.

1205 — Theodore Lascaris, who retook Nice, settled himself in Bithynia, by opportunely making use of the Arabians against the Turks. He also assumed the title of emperor, and caused a patriarch to be elected in his own communion. Other Greeks entered into an alliance even with the Turks, and called in the ancient enemies of the Bulgarians to their assistance against the emperor Baldwin, the late count of Flanders, who had yet scarcely enjoyed his conquest; and having overcome him near Adrianople, they cut off his legs and arms, and left him a prey to wild beasts.

It has by some been thought astonishing that the sources of these emigrations were not dried up; but, in my opinion, the contrary would have been astonishing. The minds of mankind were set in agitation; penitents were ordered by their confessors to go to the Holy Land; and the false reports which were

every day brought from that place, excited new hopes and expectations.

A monk of Brittany, named Estoin, about the year 1204, conducted a multitude of his countrymen into Syria. The widow of a king of Hungary took the cross, with many others of her sex, thinking there was no other way of gaining Heaven, but by making this voyage. This epidemic of folly communicated itself even to the children; several thousand of whom, conducted by the schoolmasters and monks, quitted their parents' houses on the faith of these words: "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, O Lord, thou hast ordained strength." Of these infatuated little wretches, one-half were sold, by their leaders, to the Mussulmans, and the rest perished miserably.

Antioch was the most considerable state the Christians retained in Syria, and the kingdom of Jerusalem was reduced to the single city of Ptolemais. Nevertheless, it was determined in the West, that Jerusalem ought to have a king, and Emery of Lusignan, the titulary king, dying in the year 1205, it was proposed by the bishop of Ptolemais, that they should send to France to demand a king for Judæa. Philip Augustus, therefore, nominated a younger son of the house of Brienne, in the province of Champagne, who was hardly possessed of any estate. The choice of such a king sufficiently shows what kind of a kingdom this was.

This titulary king, together with his knights, some

people of Brittany who had passed the sea, several German princes, a duke of Austria, a king of Hungary, named Andrew, who brought with him several fine troops, the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, and the bishops of Münster and Utrecht, might altogether have formed an army of conquerors, had they had a head to lead them on; but this they lacked.

The king of Hungary having withdrawn from the league, a count of Holland undertook what so many kings and princes had been unable to execute. The Asiatic Christians seemed now on the eve of deliverance, and their hopes were heightened by the arrival of a great multitude of knights, brought by a legate from the pope, and accompanied by an archbishop of Bordeaux, the bishops of Paris, Angers, Autun, and Beauvais, and a considerable body of troops; besides these, there came four thousand English and as many Italians, under several leaders. At length John de Brienne, who had arrived at Ptolemais almost without a man, saw himself at the head of nearly a hundred thousand combatants.

Saphadin, brother of the famous Saladin, who had lately joined Egypt to his other dominions, came to demolish the remains of the walls of Jerusalem, which was now no better than a ruined village: but as Saphadin seemed but precariously settled in Egypt, the Crusaders flattered themselves that they might easily get possession of that country.

The passage from Ptolemais to the mouth of the

Nile is very short, and the vessels which had brought over this vast multitude of Christians transported them in three days to the ancient Pelusium.

1218 — Near the ruins of Pelusium stands the city of Damietta, built on a causeway which defends it from the inundations of the Nile. The Crusaders began the siege of this place during the last illness of Saphadin, and continued it after his death. Meledin, his eldest son, then reigned in Egypt, and passed for a prince, who was fonder of the laws, the sciences, and a life of tranquillity, than of war. Corradin, sultan of Damascus, to whose share Syria had fallen, came to his assistance against the Christians. The fame of this siege, which lasted two years, spread through Europe, Asia, and Africa.

St. Francis d'Assisi, who was then establishing his order, went in person to the camp of the besiegers; and thinking that he should find no great difficulty in converting Meledin, went boldly with his companion, Father Illuminatus, to the Egyptian camp, where they were seized and conducted to the sultan. Francis preached to him in Italian, and proposed that a large fire should be kindled, into which the imams on the one hand, and himself and Illuminatus on the other, should cast themselves, to prove which was the true religion. Meledin replied with a smile, that his priests were not persons to leap into a fire in defence of their faith. Upon this, Francis offered to throw himself into it alone: but Meledin told him that by accepting such an offer

he might appear to doubt the truth of his own religion. At length he dismissed Francis with marks of his bounty, being perfectly well convinced that he was no dangerous spy.

1220 — Damietta, however, was taken, and this seemed to open a way for the conquest of Egypt; but Pelagus Albano, a Spanish Benedictine, who was a cardinal and the pope's legate, was the cause of its being lost. This legate pretended that the pope, being the head of all the Crusaders, he who represented him, had an incontestable right to be general; and that as the king of Jerusalem was king only in virtue of the pope's licence, he ought in all things to pay obedience to his legate. Much time was expended in these disputes, and in writing to Rome; at length the pope's answer came, by which he ordered the king of Jerusalem to return to the camp and serve under the Benedictine, which he accordingly did. This general brought the army between two branches of the Nile, just at the time when that river, which fertilizes and defends Egypt, began to overflow its banks. The sultan being informed of his situation, by opening the sluices overflowed the Christian camp; and while he burned their ships, on the one side, on the other the Nile, increasing, threatened every day to swallow up the whole army. The legate now found himself and his troops in the same situation in which the Egyptians under Pharaoh are described, when they beheld the sea ready to flow in upon them.

All the writers of those times agree that in this extremity they entered into a treaty with the sultan, who obliged them to restore Damietta, and sent back the army into Phœnicia, after having made them swear not to enter into war against him for eight years, and kept their king, John de Brienne, as a hostage for their observance of the treaty.

The Christians had now no hope left but in Emperor Frederick II., and John de Brienne, after he was set at liberty, gave him his daughter in marriage, and his right to the kingdom of Jerusalem as her dowry.

The emperor was perfectly sensible of the little advantage to be gained by Crusades; but it was necessary for him to manage the minds of the people, and ward against any attacks on the side of the popes. In my opinion, the conduct he observed on this occasion is a perfect model of sound politics. He entered into a separate treaty at the same time with the pope and with Meledin; and the one with this latter being signed, he set out for Palestine, but with a retinue rather than an army. No sooner had he arrived there than he made public the treaty by which Jerusalem, Nazareth, and some other towns in Judæa were ceded to him. He then caused it to be published throughout Europe that he had recovered the holy places without shedding a drop of blood; but notwithstanding this he did not escape uncensured, for having by this treaty left the great mosque in Jerusalem; and the patriarch of that city

treated him as an atheist; but everywhere else he was looked upon as a prince who knew perfectly well how to reign.

In reading the history of these times we cannot but acknowledge that the writers of romance have hardly been able, with all the stretch of imagination, to exceed what truth has here furnished: nor are we surprised in this age of extraordinary events, to see a count of Flanders, who had made a vow to go to the Holy Land, seizing the empire of Constantinople on his way; nor John de Brienne, a younger son of a family in Champagne, become king of Jerusalem, and afterward on the point of conquering the kingdom of Egypt: and this same John, after being stripped of all his dominions, marching almost alone to the assistance of Constantinople, where he arrives during an interregnum, and is elected emperor in 1224. His successor, Baldwin II., the last Latin emperor of Constantinople, being continually harassed by the Greeks, runs in vain from court to court with the pope's bull in his hand, imploring assistance of all the princes of Europe. All the princes of Europe were at that time from home; the emperors of the West were gone to the Holy Land, the popes were almost always in France, and the kings ready to set out for Palestine.

1240 — Theobald of Champagne, king of Navarre, who was so famous for his love for the queen, mother of St. Louis, and the songs he composed on that occasion, was also one of those who embarked

for Palestine; he returned the same year, and happy was it for him; for seventy French knights who went to signalize themselves with him were all taken prisoners and carried to Grand Cairo, when Melecsala, nephew of Meledin, who inherited the dominions and virtues of his uncle, treated them with the greatest humanity, and at length suffered them to return to their own country, on paying a moderate ransom.

At this time the territory of Jerusalem belonged neither to the Syrians, the Egyptians, the Christians, nor the Mussulmans. An unexampled revolution had given a new face to the greater part of Asia. Genghis Khan and his Tartars had broken loose from Mount Caucasus, Taurus, and Imaus; and the people, who fled before them like savage beasts chased from their haunts by animals more cruel and powerful than themselves, overran in their turn the countries whose inhabitants abandoned them at their approach.

1244 — The inhabitants of Chorazin, who were called Chorasmins, being pushed by these Tartars, threw themselves upon Syria, in the same manner as the Goths in the fourth century fell upon the Roman Empire. These Chorasmins, being idolaters, put all the Turks, Christians, and Jews that were left in Jerusalem to the sword. The Christians who remained in Antioch, Tyre, and Sidon, and on the coast of Syria, suspended for awhile their mutual quarrels, and united to repel these new invaders.

These Christians were then in alliance with the sultan of Damascus; and the Templars, the Knights of St. John, and the Teutonic Knights were always ready armed to lend their assistance to the general cause. Europe was continually furnishing fresh volunteers. In short, with the forces they could get together, they gave battle to the Chorasmins, when the Christian party was entirely defeated: but this was not the end of their misfortunes. A fresh body of Turks fell upon and ravaged Syria, after the Chorasmins had abandoned it, and exterminated almost all the knights that were left. But notwithstanding these sudden torrents, Christians were still left in possession of the cities on the coast.

The Latins, shut up in their maritime towns, saw themselves now deprived of all assistance, and their mutual dissensions added to their other misfortunes. The princes of Antioch were wholly taken up with making war upon a colony of Christians in Armenia. The different factions of the Venetians, Genoese, and Pisans were disputing with each other the possession of Ptolemais. The Templars and Knights of St. John were continually embroiled; and Europe, now grown cool, sent forth scarcely any of these armed pilgrims; so that the hopes of the Eastern Christians were almost wholly extinguished, when St. Louis undertook the last Crusade.

CHAPTER XLVI.

ST. LOUIS AND THE LAST CRUSADE.

Louis IX. seemed a prince destined to reform Europe, had it been capable of being reformed, to render France triumphant and civilized, and to be in every respect a model for the rest of mankind. His piety, which was that of an anchorite, did not deprive him of any of the virtues of a king; nor did his liberality break in upon the bounds of a prudent economy. He knew how to reconcile the profoundest politics with the strictest justice, and perhaps was the only sovereign who deserved this praise: in council he was prudent and firm, in battle intrepid but not rash, and compassionate, as if he had always been unhappy. In a word, it is not in the power of man to carry virtue to a greater height.

In conjunction with the queen, his mother, who was regent, and understood perfectly well how to govern, he put a stop to the gross abuses which had crept into the exercise of the ecclesiastical power. The clergy pretended that the officers of justice ought to seize the goods of every excommunicated person, without examining whether the excommunication was just or not: but the king, wisely distinguishing between the civil laws, to which every one owes obedience, and the Church laws, whose power ought to extend only to consciences, would not suffer the laws of the kingdom to yield to this

abuse of excommunications. From the beginning of his taking the reins of government, he confined the pretensions of the bishops and laity within their proper bounds; he suppressed several factions in Brittany; and observed a prudent neutrality between the furiously insolent Gregory IX. and the madly revengeful Frederick II.

He increased his demesnes, which were already very considerable, by the purchase of several lands. The revenues of the kings of France consisted then only in their own private property, and not in that of the people; and their grandeur depended on a well-regulated economy, in the same manner as that of a private nobleman.

1241 — His wise administration had enabled him to raise powerful armies to oppose Henry III., king of England, and the vassals of France who had joined with him. Henry, who was poorer, and not so well obeyed by his subjects, had not such good troops, nor could he assemble them so readily. Louis defeated him twice, particularly at Taillebourg in Poitou, when the king of England fled before him. This war was succeeded by a useful peace. The vassals of France returned to their duty and never after swerved from it. The king, moreover, obliged the English to pay five thousand pounds sterling toward defraying the expenses of the campaign.

If we reflect that he was barely twenty-four years old when he acted in this manner, and how much superior his genius was to his fortune, we may

easily figure to ourselves what great things such a prince might have done for his country had he remained at home; and cannot but regret that France should have been rendered so miserable by those very virtues which might have made the whole universe happy.

In the year 1244, Louis, being seized with a violent disorder, fell into a lethargy, during which, it is said, he thought that he heard a voice commanding him to take up the cross against the infidels. The instant he recovered his speech, he made a vow to engage in a Crusade. The queen, his mother, his wife, his council, and all about him were fully sensible of the dangerous consequences of this fatal vow. The bishop of Paris himself displayed them to him in the strongest terms; but Louis considered his vow as a sacred bond, which it was not permitted man to unloose. He took four years in preparing for this expedition; and then, leaving the government of the kingdom to his mother, he set out, accompanied by his queen, his three brothers with their wives, and almost all the knights in France; for he had in this army no less than three thousand knights banneret. One part of the prodigious fleet destined to carry so many princes and warriors set sail from Marseilles, and the other from Aigues-Mortes, which is no longer a seaport.

From the account of the king's expenses we may perceive how greatly France must have been impoverished by these Crusades. He gave to the lord of

Vallery for maintaining thirty knights, eight thousand livres: to the constable for fifteen knights, three thousand livres: to the archbishop of Rheims, and the bishop of Langres, each for fifteen knights, whom they brought with them into the field, four thousand livres each. Besides this he provided tables for one hundred and seventy-two knights. These expenses, together with the preparations for this expedition, amounted to an immense sum.

If the madness for Crusades and the religious observance of oaths had permitted his virtue to hearken to reason, he would have perceived not only the evil he was bringing upon his country, but also the great injustice of this expedition, which appeared to him so just and laudable.

Had his design been only to put France in possession of Jerusalem, it was what it had no right to: but he marched against the old and wise Melecsala, sultan of Egypt, who had certainly never given offence to the king of France. Melecsala was a Mussulman, and that was the only pretence for making war upon him: but there was no more reason at that time for ravaging Egypt, because the people followed the doctrine of Mahomet, than there would be at present for carrying a war into China, because that empire is attached to the tenets of Confucius.

Louis put into Cyprus, and was joined by the king of that island. They then landed in Egypt. The sultan of Egypt was no longer in possession of Jerusalem. Palestine was then ravaged by the Choras-

mins, the sultan of Syria had abandoned to them that wretched country; and the caliph of Bagdad, who, though still acknowledged, had only the shadow of power, no longer took part in those wars. There were still some Christians remaining at Ptolemais, Tyre, Antioch, and Tripoli; but by their dissensions, they continually ran the risk of being crushed both by the Turkish sultans and the Chorasmins.

1250 — In this state of affairs it is difficult to find a reason why the king of France should choose Egypt for the theatre of his war. Melecsala, who was now grown old and sick, demanded a peace, which was refused him. Louis was reinforced by fresh aid from France, and saw himself at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, by whom he was both obeyed and loved; and having to do with an army already defeated, and a sultan who drew near his end, who would not have thought that Egypt, and even Syria itself would quickly have been subdued? Yet one-half of this promising army died of sickness and the other half was defeated near Mansurah. St. Louis saw his brother, Robert of Artois, killed by his side, and himself taken prisoner, with his two brothers, the count of Anjou, and the count of Poitiers. It was no longer old Melecsala who reigned in Egypt, but his son Almoadan, who must certainly have been a most generous soul; for when King Louis made him an offer of a million of besants in

gold for his ransom and that of his followers, Almoadan generously remitted one-fifth.

This sultan was massacred by the Mamelukes, whom his father had formed into a militia; and the government being now divided, seemed to threaten some fatal revolution to the Christians; however, the Egyptian council continued to treat with the king. Sieur de Joinville relates that the emirs themselves proposed in one of their assemblies to choose Louis for their sultan.

This Joinville was a prisoner with the king, and what is related by a man of his character has doubtless some weight. But let us only reflect how frequently, in a camp or a private house, we are misinformed of what passes in a neighboring camp, or the next house, and likewise how improbable it is that Mussulmans should think of choosing for their sovereign a Christian king, and an enemy, who was acquainted with neither their language nor their manners, and who detested their religion, and could only be considered by them as the chief of a band of foreign robbers; if we reflect upon this, I say, we shall find that Joinville has only reported a popular story. By relating faithfully all that we hear, we are often led to repeat many things which ought at least to be suspected: and again, we have not the true history written by Joinville; it is at best but an incorrect translation made in the time of Francis I., from a manuscript which it would be very difficult to understand at present.

I have not been able to reconcile what historians tell us of the manner in which the Mussulmans treated their Christian prisoners. Some of them say that they were brought one by one out of the place where they were confined, and asked if they would deny Jesus Christ; and such as persisted in the Christian faith had their heads struck off.

Others again attest that an old emir asked the prisoners by an interpreter, if they believed in Jesus Christ; and they, answering in the affirmative, he replied, "Be of good courage then; He that died for you and could rise again is doubtless able to deliver you."

These two accounts seem a little contradictory; and what is still more so is that the emirs should kill those captives for whom they expected a ransom.

On the whole, these emirs demanded no more than eighty thousand besants, to which the late sultan had limited the ransom; and when, in pursuance of the treaty, the French troops, which were in Damietta, had given up that city, we do not find that the conquerors committed the least outrage on the women, but sent the queen and her sisters-in-law away with marks of respect. All the Mahometan soldiers did not indeed behave with equal moderation, the vulgar in all countries being rude and brutal: there were doubtless some violences committed, and some prisoners ill-treated, and even killed; but after all, I must own I am surprised that

the sultan did not put to death a much greater number of these foreign invaders, who sailed from the ports of Europe to lay waste the kingdom of Egypt.

St. Louis, on being delivered from captivity, retired into Palestine, where he remained nearly four years with the shattered remains of his fleet and army. Instead of returning to France he went to visit Nazareth, and did not repair to his own dominions till after the death of his mother, and then only in order to set on foot a new Crusade.

His residence at Paris proved a perpetual increase of advantage and glory to him, and he received marks of honor which can be rendered only to a virtuous king. Henry III. of England and his barons, having had some dispute, they chose him as sovereign arbiter, and although his decision, which was in Henry's favor, did not put a stop to the commotions in England, yet it proved to all Europe that men are obliged, in spite of themselves, to show reverence to virtue. The reputation of Louis, and the good order he observed in his kingdom, procured his brother, the count of Anjou, the honor of being chosen king of Sicily by the pope.

Louis, in the meantime, enlarged his demesnes by the acquisition of Namur, Péronne, Avranches, Montagne, and Le Perche. He might likewise have taken from the kings of England all they possessed in France; the quarrels between Henry III. and his barons rendered it very practicable; but Louis preferred justice to usurpation, and suffered them to

remain in quiet possession of Guienne, Périgord, and the Limousin; but he obliged them to give up forever all claim to Touraine, Poitou, and Normandy, which had been again annexed to the crown of France by Philip Augustus. By this procedure he at once procured an honorable peace to his country, and raised his own reputation.

He was the first who established the law or right of appeal, by which the subjects, who had been before obliged to submit to the arbitrary sentence of the judges of the baronies, might now carry their complaints into four grand royal bailiwicks, erected purposely to hear and determine such causes. In his reign men of letters were first admitted to seats in the parliament, where before the knights, who hardly knew how to read, used to decide the fortunes of the subjects. With all the piety of a priest, he showed the enlightened firmness of a king, in putting a check to the encroachments of the court of Rome, by that famous pragmatic law, which secures those rights called the liberties of the Gallican Church.

In short, thirteen years of his presence in France repaired all the evils that had been wrought in his absence; but his infatuation for crusades hurried him beyond every other consideration, and the popes took care to encourage him in it. Clement IV. granted him a tenth penny on the revenues of the clergy for three years. At length he departed a second time, with a force nearly equal to the former; and his brother, whom he had made king of Sicily, was to

follow him: this time, however, he directed his devotion and his arms neither to Palestine nor the coast of Egypt, but sailed with his fleet to Tunis.

The Christians of Syria were no longer of the ancient race of Franks who settled in Antioch and Tyre; they were a mixed generation of Syrians, Armenians, and Europeans: they went by the name of "Copts," and these feeble remains of the original conquerors were in general subjects to the Egyptians, and Tyre and Ptolemais were the only cities of strength they had left in that part of the world; and, even in those cities, the religious societies of Templars and Hospitallers, whom we may in some sort compare to the Mameluke militia, carried on the most cruel and bloody wars against each other; and in one fight which happened between these military monks, there was not a Templar left alive.

But it may be asked, what relation there could be between a petty, mongrel race on the coast of Syria and St. Louis's expedition to Tunis? Charles of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily, an ambitious, cruel, and self-interested prince, made the heroic simplicity of his brother subservient to his designs. He pretended that the king of Tunis owed him several years' tribute; the truth is, he wanted to get the sovereignty of that country, and St. Louis, as most historians tell us — but on what foundation I cannot say — hoped to make a convert of the king of Tunis. A strange method of converting a Mahom-

etan to Christianity, to make a descent upon his country sword in hand!

1270 — The Christians landed near the ruins of Carthage, but the king soon found himself besieged in his own camp by the united forces of the Moors. And here his army underwent the same fate, by disease, the intemperance of the soldiery, and a new climate, as it had formerly done in Egypt; it was totally ruined, and one of his sons, who was born at Damietta during the time of his captivity, died of this kind of contagion before Tunis. At length the king was attacked by it, and ordering himself to be laid in the dust, he expired at the age of fifty-five, with the piety of a monk, and the courage of a hero. It is not one of the least, among the many instances of the caprices of fortune, that the ruins of Carthage should be the burying place of a Christian king, come thither to fight against Mahometans, in a country where Queen Dido had first introduced the gods of the Syrians. Scarcely was Louis dead, when his brother, the king of Sicily, arrived, who concluded a peace with the Moors, and conducted the shattered remnant of the Christian army back to Europe.

We cannot reckon fewer than one hundred thousand persons sacrificed in St. Louis's two expeditions; add to these the fifty thousand who followed Frederick Barbarossa, the three hundred thousand who composed the Crusade under Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur de Lion, with the two hundred thou-

sand at least, who emigrated in the time of King John de Brienne; reckon also the one hundred and sixty thousand who had before that gone over to Asia, not omitting those who perished in the expedition against Constantinople, and in the wars succeeding that revolution, without mentioning the Crusade in the North, and that against the Albigenses, and it will be found that the East proved the sepulchre of more than two millions of Europeans.

Many countries were depopulated and impoverished by these expeditions. Sieur de Joinville expressly asserts that the reason of his not accompanying St. Louis on his second Crusade was that he could not support the expense of it, his fortune having been almost entirely ruined by the first.

Louis's ransom cost the kingdom eight hundred thousand besants, which was about nine millions of the present current money of France. Now, of the two millions who died in the East, if each man carried with him out of the kingdom only one hundred francs it will make an additional sum of two hundred millions on account of these expeditions. The Genoese, the Pisans, and particularly the Venetians, were enriched by them; but France, England, and Germany were totally exhausted.

It is pretended that the kings of France were gainers by these Crusades, because St. Louis increased his demesnes, by purchasing the lands of those lords who had ruined their fortunes by following him:

but, in reality, he increased them only by his economy during his thirteen years' residence at home.

The only advantages procured by these enterprises was the liberty which many boroughs purchased of their lords; thus the municipal government increased by slow degrees from the ruins of the possessors of fiefs; and these communities, finding in time that they could work and traffic on their own accounts, began to exercise arts and commerce, which had long been neglected, and almost extinguished in a state of slavery.

In the meantime, the small number of Christians distributed about the coast of Syria were soon exterminated or reduced to slavery. Ptolemais, their principal retreat, which was in effect only a place of refuge for robbers notorious for their crimes, could not resist the forces of Melecseraph, sultan of Egypt, who took it in the year 1291, after which Tyre and Sidon soon surrendered to him. In short, toward the end of the twelfth century there was not the least trace to be found in Asia of the emigrations of these Christians.

CHAPTER XLVII.

CONTINUATION OF THE TAKING OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE CRUSADERS.

We may have observed that the feudal government of France produced many conquerors; the duke of

Normandy, a peer of France, subdued England; a few private gentlemen conquered Sicily; and, during the Crusades, lords of France were for some time masters of Antioch and Jerusalem: in fine, Baldwin, count of Flanders, also a peer of France, took Constantinople. We have seen that the Mahometans of Asia yielded Nice to the fugitive emperors of Greece, and that these Mahometans were joined in alliance with the Greeks, against the Franks and Latins, their common enemies; during this time the incursions of the Tartars into Asia and Europe prevented the Mahometans from oppressing the Greeks. The Franks being in possession of Constantinople, elected their own emperors, and the popes confirmed them.

1216 — Peter de Courtenay, count of Auxerre, of the house of France, being elected, was crowned at Rome by Pope Honorius III. The popes at that time flattered themselves with a notion that they had the disposal of the empires of the East and West. We have seen what kind of claim they had upon the West, and the immense quantities of blood it cost to dispute it. With regard to the East, their pretensions were confined to Constantinople, and a part of Thrace and Thessaly; and the Latin patriarch, notwithstanding his profound submission to the pope's authority, insisted that it belonged to him alone to crown the emperors, his masters; while the Greek patriarch, who held his see sometimes at Nice, and at others in Adrianopolis, anathematized both the Latin

emperor and his patriarch, and even the pope himself; in fact, this Latin Empire of Constantinople was so inconsiderable, that Peter de Courtenay, on his return to Rome, could not avoid falling into the hands of the Greeks, and, after his death, in 1218, his successors possessed in reality no more than the city of Constantinople and its adjacent territory. Achaia was in the possession of the French, and the Venetians had the Morea.

Constantinople, which had formerly been such an opulent city, had become so poor that Baldwin II.—I can hardly style him emperor — pledged to the Venetians, for a sum of money, the crown of thorns worn by Jesus Christ, his swaddling-clothes, his robe, his napkin, his sponge, and several pieces of the true cross, which were afterward redeemed by St. Louis, who deposited them in the holy chapel at Paris, with other relics, which are testimonies of his piety, rather than of his knowledge in antiquity.

We find that this Baldwin II. came, in 1245, to the Council of Lyons, in which Pope Innocent IV. excommunicated in so solemn a manner, Emperor Frederick II. He there vainly implored the assistance of a crusade, and returned to Constantinople, only to see it fall at last under the power of the Greeks, its lawful possessors. Michael Palæologus, emperor, and guardian of the young emperor, Lascaris, retook the city by means of a private intelligence, in 1261. Baldwin after this fled to France, where he lived upon the money he raised by the

sale of his marquisate of Namur to St. Louis. Thus ended this empire of the Crusaders.

The Greeks brought back their manners into their empire; and the custom of putting out eyes again revived. Michael Palæologus was the first who signalized himself in this way, by depriving his pupil of his sight and liberty. It had been the custom before, on these occasions, to make use of a thin plate of metal, heated red-hot; but Michael used boiling vinegar, and the custom has been preserved, for there is a fashion even in crimes.

Palæologus took care to procure a solemn act of absolution for this cruel deed, from his patriarch and bishops, who it is said burst into tears of joy at this pious ceremony. Palæologus beat his breast, with all the marks of a sincere contrition, humbly asked forgiveness of God, and at the same time took especial care to keep his emperor and his pupil closely confined.

When I say that superstition returned to Constantinople with the Greeks, I desire no clearer proof of it than what happened in the year 1284. The whole empire was at that time divided between two patriarchs; the emperor gave orders that each should present before God, in the church of St. Sophia, a memorial containing his reasons; and that both these memorials should be thrown into a consecrated pan of coals, in order that the will of heaven might be known; the Almighty, however, declared

Himself by suffering both papers to be consumed, and left the Greeks to their ecclesiastical disputes.

The empire of the East in the meantime recovered a little strength; Greece had been annexed to it before the Crusades, but it lost almost all Asia Minor and Syria. Greece was again separated from it after the Crusades, but a small part of Asia Minor still remained.

The rest of this empire was in the hands of new nations: Egypt had fallen a prey to the Mameluke militia, originally formed of slaves, who afterward became conquerors; they were soldiers who had been gathered together from the northern coasts of the Black Sea; and this new form of robbery was first established during the time that St. Louis was in captivity.

The empire of the caliphs seemed to draw near to its end in this century, while that of Constantine appeared also in the decline. The monarchy which had been founded by Mahomet was torn to pieces on all sides by new usurpers, who at the same time embraced his religion, till at length the caliphs of Bagdad, called by way of distinction the Abbassidian caliphs, were utterly destroyed by the family of Genghis Khan.

Thus, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there was an uninterrupted succession of devastations throughout one-half of the globe; nation fell upon nation in those prodigious emigrations, which have since by degrees formed great empires; for,

while the Crusaders were pouring in upon Syria, the Turks undermined the Arabians; and at length the Tartars appeared, who fell upon the Turks, the Arabians, the Indians, and the Chinese. These Tartars, conducted by Genghis Khan and his sons, changed the face of all Great Asia, while Asia Minor and Syria were the sepulchres of the Franks and Saracens.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE EAST AND GENGHIS KHAN.

On the other side of Persia, toward the rivers Gihon and Oxus, a new empire arose from the ruins of the caliphate. We call it Kourasmia, or Khorasan, from the corrupted name of its conquerors. Sultan Mohammed reigned here about the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, at the time that so many kingdoms were swallowed up by the great irruptions of the Tartars. Mohammed the Chorasmian ruled from the heart of Irak, which is the ancient Media, to the other side of Sogdiana, and far into the country of the Tartars. He had also enlarged his dominions by the addition of a great part of India; so that he saw himself one of the most powerful sovereigns in the world, but still continued to acknowledge the caliph, whom he had stripped of almost all his dominions, and who retained only the city of Bagdad.

From the other side of Taurus and Caucasus, to

the eastward of the Caspian Sea, and from the river Volga to China, and to the northward as far as the frozen zone, extends that immense tract of country belonging to the ancient Scythians, who were afterwards called Tatars, and by us Tartars, from Teteor Khan, one of the most powerful of their princes. These countries appear to have been peopled from time immemorial, but the inhabitants seldom built towns; nature having given to these people, as to the Arabs and Bedouins, that love of freedom and a wandering life, which made them consider towns or cities as prisons in which kings kept their slaves.

Their excursions, the frugal manner in which they were obliged to live, the small share of rest or indulgence they could enjoy, passing their lives either under a tent, in their chariots, or upon the bare ground, rendered them a race of hardy men, inured to fatigue, who, like so many wild beasts grown numerous, spread themselves on all sides, at a distance from their dens, at one time toward the countries about the Palus Mœotis, whence, in the fifth century, they drove the inhabitants, who rushed in upon the Roman Empire; at another time toward the east and south, where they overran Armenia and Persia; and again, toward the coasts of China, and as far as the Indies. Thus has this mighty reservoir of barbarous and warlike men spread, at different times, its inundations over almost the whole of our hemisphere; and the people who at present inhabit

those deserts, destitute of all learning, know only that their ancestors have formerly conquered the world.

Each horde or tribe had its chief, and several of these chiefs were united under a khan, to whom the neighboring tribes of Dalai-lama paid a kind of homage, consisting chiefly in a slight tribute: the rest of the tribes had no other notion of divine worship than what consisted in sacrificing a few animals once a year to the Supreme Being. I have never heard it said that they offered human sacrifices to the Deity, nor that they had any belief of an evil and powerful being, such as the devil. The wants and occupations of a vagabond life preserved them from a great deal of that superstition which is the child of idleness; their only faults were those which brutality naturally connects with a rough and savage way of life, and even these faults made them conquerors.

All that I have been able to gather of certainty concerning the origin of the great revolution brought about by these Tartars toward the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is that the hordes of Mongols, or Moguls, inhabiting the parts to the eastward of China, and who possessed the best iron mines, were the first who worked that metal, which indeed made them in the end master of those who were in possession of all the rest. Cal Khan, or Gassar Khan, grandfather to Genghis Khan, finding himself at the head of these tribes, who were the best armed and

disciplined of all, obliged many of his neighbors to become his vassals, and founded a kind of monarchy, such a one at least as could subsist among a wandering people, impatient of restraint. His son, whom our European historians call Pisouca, fixed this rising empire, and after him Genghis Khan extended it over the greater part of the known globe.

Between his dominions and those of China lay a powerful state, belonging to a khan, whose ancestors had quitted the wandering life of the Tartars, to build themselves towns, after the example of the Chinese. This prince was known even in Europe, and was the person to whom we at first gave the name of Prester John: some critics have attempted to prove that the proper name is Priest John, though, most certainly, there never was any reason for either appellation.

The truth is that the reputation of his capital, which made some noise in Asia, had excited the greediness of certain Arabian merchants; these merchants were of the ancient communion of Nestorius; some of their priests accompanied them in this expedition, and, in order to recommend themselves to the Christian potentates, who were at that time carrying on the Holy War in Syria, they declared that they had converted this great khan, the most powerful of the Tartar chiefs, and had given him the name of John; and that he had even condescended to take the vows of priesthood. From this idle story came Prester John to be so famous in the old chron-

GENGHIS KHAN

icles of the Crusades. They afterward went in search of a Prester John into Ethiopia, and gave this name to a black prince, who is partly a schismatic Christian, and partly a Jew; but the Tartar Prester John fell in a great battle by the arms of Genghis, after which the conqueror made himself master of his dominions, and caused himself to be chosen sovereign of all the Tartar khans, or chiefs, under the name of Genghis Khan, which signifies King of Kings, of Grand Khan, in room of that Temuchin which he bore before. It appears that the Tartar khans were accustomed to assemble diets at the beginning of the spring; these diets were called "*Courilte.*" How do we know whether these assemblies and our plenary courts in the months of March and May, may not have had the same origin?

Genghis Khan published an ordinance in this assembly, enjoining the belief in one god only, and that no one should be persecuted on the score of religion; a certain proof that his subjects were not all of the same belief. He established strict military discipline; the decurions, centurions, and captains of thousands, and the chiefs of ten thousands, under generals, were all obliged to perform daily duty: and all such as did not go to the field were obliged to work one day in the week for the khan's service. Adultery was strictly forbidden, on account of polygamy being allowed. There was but one Tartar canton in which the inhabitants were permitted to continue the practice of prostituting their wives to

their landlords. Sorcery was expressly forbidden, under pain of death: it has already been shown that Charlemagne punished this crime by a fine only, but it follows from this that the Germans, Franks, and Tartars believed alike in the power of magicians. Genghis Khan worked a scheme in this great assembly of barbarous princes, which we frequently find employed in the history of the world; a prophet foretold him that he should be one day master of the universe: his subjects encouraged each other to fulfil the prediction.

Genghis issued a new law which was the most proper imaginable for making heroes of all his soldiers; he ordered the penalty of death for those who, when called to the assistance of their fellow soldiers in time of battle, should take to flight instead of assisting them. Having quickly made himself master of all the countries between the river Volga and the wall of China, he afterward fell upon that ancient empire, which was then called Cathay. He took Cambalu, the capital of North Cathay; this is the city which we now call Pekin. Thus, master of the one-half of China, he soon carried his victorious arms into the heart of Korea.

It is not in the imagination, even of the idlest of those who busy themselves in romantic fiction, to conceive that a prince should set out from the heart of Korea, which is at the eastern extremity of our globe, to carry the war into Persia and the Indies; and yet this Genghis Khan actually effected.

The caliph of Bagdad, named Nasser, very imprudently applied to him for his assistance; the caliphs at that time were, as we have already seen, what the indolent kings of France were formerly, under the tyranny of the mayors of the palace: the Turks were the mayors of the caliphs.

Sultan Mohammed, of the Chorasmian race, of whom we have already made mention, was master of almost all Persia; and Armenia, ever in a defenceless condition, paid him tribute. The caliph Nasser, whom this Mohammed was determined to strip of even the shadow of dignity which was left him, called Genghis Khan into Persia.

The Tartar conqueror was at that time sixty years of age. It appears that he knew how to govern as well as to conquer, and his life is one of the many instances that there is no great conqueror who is not at the same time a great politician; a conqueror is a man whose head makes a happy and dexterous use of the arms of others. Genghis governed that part of China which he had conquered so skilfully that there was not the least attempt made toward a revolt during his absence; and he knew so well how to govern his own family that his four sons, whom he made his four lieutenant-generals, showed no other jealousy than as to who should best serve him; and were the chief instruments of his victories.

Our fights in Europe appear like slight skirmishes when compared with the battles which have at different times laid Asia in blood. Sultan Mohammed

marched against Genghis at the head of four hundred thousand fighting men; and on the other side of the river Jaxartes, near the city of Otrar, and in the immense plains which lie without the city, he met the Tartar army, consisting of seven hundred thousand men, commanded by Genghis himself, assisted by his four sons; the Mahometans were defeated, and the city of Otrar taken. The besiegers made use of the battering-ram on this occasion: it would seem that this war-engine was a kind of natural invention among all people, like bows and arrows.

From the countries beyond the Oxus the conqueror advanced against Bokhara, a city famous throughout all Asia for its great commerce and manufactures of stuff, but especially for the sciences, which the Turkish sultans had learned of the Arabs, and which flourished in Bokhara and Samarcand: and, if we credit the khan Albugasi, to whom we are indebted for the history of the Tartars, "bocar" signifies "learned," in the Tartar-Mogul language; and it is from this etymology, of which there does not at present remain the least trace, that came the name of Bokhara. The Tartar, having received a ransom for the city, reduced it to ashes, in like manner as Alexander did Persepolis. The eastern writers who have given us the history of Genghis Khan, alleged that he did it to avenge the death of his ambassadors, whom the sultan had caused to be slain before the war. Whatever excuse there might be for Genghis, there could be none for Alexander.

All the countries to the eastward and southward of the Caspian Sea were now subdued, and Sultan Mohammed, a fugitive, dragging after him his treasures and his misfortunes, died at last, abandoned by his own people. After this the conqueror penetrated as far as the river Indus, and while one of his armies was reducing Hindostan, another, under the command of one of his sons, subjected to his yoke all the provinces which are to the southward and westward of the Caspian Sea — Khorasan, Irak, Shirvan, and Iran. They passed the iron gates, not far from where it is said that the city of Derbend was built by Alexander the Great. This is the only passage from this side of Upper Asia over the ragged and inaccessible hills of Mount Caucasus. Thence directing its march along the Volga toward Moscow, this army, everywhere victorious, ravaged Russia, where nothing was to be seen but the seizing and slaying of cattle and slaves. Being loaded with plunder, they repassed the Volga and returned to join Genghis Khan by the northeast coast of the Caspian Sea. It is said that no traveller had ever before made the circuit of this river; and that these troops were the first who had dared to venture such a journey, through rude and uncultivated countries, inaccessible to any other men than Tartars, who wanted neither tents, provision nor baggage, but lived upon the flesh of their horses as well as they could on that of other animals.

In this manner were half of China and of Hindo-

stan, almost all Persia as far as the Euphrates, the frontiers of Russia, Kazan, Astrakhan, and the whole of Great Tartary, reduced by the victorious arms of Genghis in less than eighteen years.

It is certain that the part of Thibet where the Grand Lama reigns was included within the bounds of his empire, and that he suffered that pontiff to remain in possession of his own territories, as there were a great number of worshippers of that human idol in his armies. Conquerors have in all times spared the chiefs of religions, both on account of the tribute of flattery they are sure to receive from them, and because the submission of the head of the Church generally draws after it that of the people.

In his return from India, through Persia and the ancient Sogdiana, he stopped at the city of Toncat, to the northeast of the river Jaxartes, as the centre of his vast empire. Hither his sons, who had been victorious on all sides, with his generals and all the tributary princes, brought him the treasures of Asia, which he distributed among his soldiers, who were wholly unacquainted with this species of abundance. From here came those gold and silver ornaments which the Russians are every now and then finding, and other monuments of luxury that were buried in the savage countries of Tartary; the only remains of those numerous depredations.

1226 — During his stay here Genghis held a triumphal plenary court in the plains of Toncat, which was as splendid and magnificent as that which had

prepared the way for so many victories had been simple and warlike. Here might be seen a mixture of Tartarian barbarity and Asiatic luxury; the khans and their vassals, who had been companions of his conquests, appeared seated in the ancient Scythian chariots, which still continue in use among the inhabitants of Crim-Tartary; but these cars were covered with the rich stuffs, gold and precious stones, which had been taken from the nations they had conquered. One of the sons of Genghis made him a present at this assembly of a hundred thousand horses. It was at this meeting of the states-general of Asia that he received the homage of above five hundred ambassadors from the conquered countries. From here he hastened to reduce again to his yoke the vast territory of Tangut, on the frontiers of China. At the age of seventy he determined to go and complete the conquest of the great kingdom of China, which was the darling object of his ambition; but, as he was on his march toward that empire, and within a few miles of the great wall, he was seized with a fatal disorder. Never did any man before or since subject so many nations: he had conquered more than one thousand eight hundred leagues of country from east to west, and over a thousand from north to south; but then as he conquered he laid all waste, and, excepting Bokhara and two or three other cities which he permitted to be rebuilt, his whole empire, from the borders of Russia to the frontiers

of China, was one continued ruin. China indeed suffered the least, because, after the taking of Pekin, no other place offered to resist him. Before his death he divided his empire among his four sons, and each of them was one of the most powerful monarchs of the known world.

It is asserted that a great number of human victims were sacrificed upon his tomb, and that this has continued to be done in Tartary at the death of any of his successors. This custom, worthy only of the most savage beings, was common with the ancient Scythian princes, and has of late been found among the negroes of Congo. It is pretended that it was looked upon as a point of honor among the domestics of the khans of Tartary to die with their lords, and that they even disputed for the privilege of being interred with them. If this enthusiasm was common among them, and death appeared a matter of such small moment to these people, they were certainly formed to subdue all other nations. The Tartars, whose admiration of Genghis Khan redoubled when they no longer beheld him, imagined that he was not born in the same manner as other men, but that his mother had conceived him by the power of some heavenly influence; as if the rapidity of his conquests was not of itself sufficiently great. If such men must have a supernatural being given to them for a parent, we must suppose it to be some evil demon.

The children of this great conqueror still added

to the dominions their father had left them; Octai, and, soon after, his son, Kublai Khan, completed the conquest of China: this is the Kublai whom Marco Polo saw in the year 1260, when, together with his father and uncle, he penetrated into those countries, which were not even known by name at that time, and which he called Catai. Europe, where Marco Polo rendered himself so famous for having travelled into the dominions conquered by Genghis Khan, was for a long time ignorant both of these dominions and their conquerors.

Pope Innocent IV., in 1246, sent some Franciscan friars into Tartary; but these monks, who assumed the title of ambassadors, saw very little, were treated with great contempt, and did no service.

So little was known of what passed in that part of the world that an impostor, named David, made St. Louis believe, when he was in Syria, that he was sent to him from the great khan of Tartary, who had turned Christian; upon which St. Louis sent the monk, Rubrugius, thither, in 1258, to inquire into this affair. By the relation of Rubrugius, it appears that he was introduced to the grandson of Genghis Khan, who then reigned in China: but what light could be procured from a monk who was only a traveller among people whose language he was ignorant of, and who had not an opportunity of rightly distinguishing what he did see? Accordingly, all that he brought back with him from this voyage was

a great number of false notions, and some few truths of very little consequence.

Thus, then, at the same time that the princes and barons of Christendom were bathing the kingdoms of Naples, Greece, Syria, and Egypt in blood, Asia was ravaged by the Tartars. Almost all our hemisphere suffered at the same time.

Genghis made use of the right which the eastern monarchs have always been in possession of, and which resembles that which the father of a family had by the Roman law; viz., that of choosing their own heirs, and dividing their possessions among their children without any regard to the claim of eldership; he declared his third son, Octai, great khan of Tartary, and his posterity reigned in the north of China till about the middle of the fourteenth century. The force of arms introduced the Tartars into this kingdom, and religious disputes drove them out again: the priests of the Lama were for exterminating the bonzes; these latter found means to make the people revolt. The princes of the blood-royal of China took advantage of this ecclesiastical discord, and in the end drove out their conquerors, enervated by ease and plenty.

Another son of Genghis Khan, named Touchi, had for his share the provinces of Turkestan and Bactria, the kingdom of Astrakhan, and the country of the Usbeg Tartars. The son of this Touchi travelled as far as Poland, into Dalmatia, Hungary, and to the very gates of Constantinople: this prince was

called Batou Khan; the princes of Crim-Tartary descend from him in a male line, and the Usbeg khans, who at this day inhabit the true Tartary, to the northward and eastward of the Caspian Sea, derive their origin from the same source; they are masters of northern Bactria, but they lead a wandering life in that fine country, and lay waste all the parts they inhabit.

Tuti, or Tuli, another son of Genghis, had the kingdom of Persia, while his father was yet living. The son of this Tuti, named Houlacou, passed the Euphrates, which Genghis Khan had never done; he totally destroyed the empire of the caliphs in Bagdad, and made himself master of a part of Asia Minor, or Natolia, while the native masters of that delightful part of the Constantinopolitan Empire were driven from their capital by the Christian crusaders.

A third son, named Zagatai, had the provinces on the other side of the Oxus, Kandahar, Northern India, Cashmere, and Thibet: and the several descendants of these four monarchs preserved themselves for some time by the force of arms in the possession of their monarchies, which had been founded on rapine.

If Charlemagne was blamable for dividing his dominions, Genghis Khan was doubtless commendable for what he did. The dominions of Charlemagne lay contiguous to each other, had nearly the same laws, were under the same religion, and might

be governed by one man. Those of Genghis, infinitely more extensive, separated by vast deserts, and divided into different religious sects, could not continue for any length of time in obedience to one ruler.

In the meantime the vast power of the Tartar Moguls, which was first founded in the year 1220, began to grow weak in all its parts; till Tamerlane, in little more than a century afterward, established a universal monarchy in Asia, which again underwent a division.

Let us now turn our eyes toward the West, and see what passed in Europe in the thirteenth century.

CHAPTER XLIX.

CHARLES OF ANJOU, KING OF THE TWO SICILIES — THE SICILIAN VESPERS.

WHILE the grand revolution brought about by the Tartars was taking its course, and the sons and grandsons of Genghis Khan were dividing the greater part of the world among them; while the Crusades still continued, and Louis was unhappily making preparations for his last fatal one; the illustrious and imperial house of Suabia was exterminated in a manner unheard of till then: its blood was shed upon a scaffold.

1254 — Emperor Frederick II. was at once the emperor of the popes, their vassal, and their enemy; and did them homage for the kingdom of Naples and

Sicily. His son, Emperor Conrad IV., took possession of this kingdom. I find it confidently asserted by most authors that this Conrad was poisoned by his brother Manfreddo, or Mainfroi, Frederick's natural son; but I do not see that any one of them has brought proof of this assertion. Manfred seized upon this kingdom, which of right belonged to his nephew, Conradin, son of Emperor Conrad, and grandson of Frederick I. The pope, as lord paramount, seemed to have a right to punish Manfred; but what right could he have to strip a helpless orphan of the dominions to which he was the sole and lawful heir? But the prospect of advantage made everything appear lawful. The popes both hated and feared this family, and waited only to find a prince who, in receiving the investiture of these kingdoms, might be able to conquer them. Charles, count of Anjou, brother of St. Louis, offered himself to the pope for this purpose, and the holy father soon concluded the matter with him, notwithstanding he had before promised the investiture to others.

This count of Anjou was already in possession of Provence in right of marriage; and what still considerably added to his power, was his having subdued the city of Marseilles: He moreover enjoyed a dignity which a man of abilities might have turned greatly to his advantage, which was, his being the only senator of Rome.

1264 — Pope Urban IV., who stood in fear of this prince, even when he called him in to his assist-

ance, gave him the investiture only on condition that he should renounce all claim to that dignity at the end of three years, and pay an annual tribute of three thousand ounces of gold to the apostolic chair, for the feudal dependence of the kingdom of Naples; and if he should ever suffer the payment to run behindhand more than two months, that he was to be excommunicated. Charles made not the least hesitation to subscribe to these terms, or indeed any others which they brought him. The pope permitted him to levy the tenth penny upon all the church revenues in France.

1266 — He set out with a store of money and troops, caused himself to be crowned at Rome, and gave Manfred battle on the plains of Beneventum, where, fortunately for him, that prince fell in the combat. The victor made the most rigid use of his conquest, and appeared to be as severe and cruel as his brother St. Louis was humane.

In the meantime young Conradin, the true heir to the kingdom of Naples, was in Germany, while, during this interregnum, his country was laid waste; and while they were stripping him of the kingdom of Naples his adherents encouraged him to come and defend his inheritance. He was at that time only fifteen years old; but his courage far surpassed his age. He put himself at the head of an army, together with his kinsman, the duke of Austria, and came to support his rights. The people of Rome were for him, and the excommunicated Conradin was

received in that city amidst the general acclamations of the inhabitants, at the very time that the pope did not dare to approach his own capital.

1268 — It may be asserted with truth that, of all the wars of this country, that carried on by Conradin was the most just, but it was likewise the most unfortunate; for the pope set up a crusade against him as well as against the Turk; and he, together with his relation, Frederick, duke of Austria, was defeated and taken prisoner in Apulia. Charles of Anjou, who ought to have done justice to their valor, caused them to be condemned by the civil magistrates. Their sentence was, that they had merited death for having taken up arms against the Church; and these two princes were publicly executed at Naples by the common hangman. Pope Clement IV., to whom they seemed to have fallen a sacrifice, did not dare to approve of this piece of barbarity, which was the more execrable as it was concealed under the forms of justice. I cannot sufficiently express my surprise that St. Louis never reproached his brother with this base action, since he of all men whom the Egyptians had spared under less favorable circumstances, should more than any other have condemned this cruelty of Charles of Anjou. The conqueror, instead of humoring the Neapolitans, irritated them by continual oppressions; so that himself and his whole nation were held in the utmost horror by them.

1282 — It is the general opinion that a Sicilian gentleman, named John de Procida, disguised in

the habit of a Franciscan friar, plotted that famous conspiracy by which all the French were to be murdered at the same hour on Easter Sunday, on ringing the bell for vespers. It is certain that this John de Procida had prepared the minds of all the Sicilians for a revolt; that he went from Constantinople to Aragon, and that the king of that country, Peter, son-in-law of Manfred, had joined with the Greek emperor against Charles of Anjou: but it is hardly probable that they had completely formed the plot of the Sicilian Vespers. If any such plot had been formed, it should have been put in execution chiefly in the kingdom of Naples; and yet we do not hear of anyone being murdered there. Malespina relates that a Frenchman, named Droguet, was committing a rape upon a woman in Palermo on Easter day, at the very time the people were going to vespers: the cries of the woman drew the populace to her assistance, who killed the Frenchman. This first impulse of private revenge animated the general hatred: the Sicilians, encouraged by John of Procida, and stimulated by their own fury, cried out with one voice that they would destroy the enemies of their country; and accordingly every Frenchman that was found in Palermo was put to death. The same fury spread itself through the whole island, and produced a general massacre. It is said that they ripped up women with child, and took the half-formed infants out of their wombs; and that even the priests themselves massacred all their French penitents. It is

moreover affirmed that only one gentleman of Provence, named des Porcellets, escaped the general slaughter: nevertheless, it is certain that the governor of Messina, with his whole garrison, retired into the kingdom of Naples.

The blood of Conradin was thus revenged, but not upon those by whom it had been shed. The Sicilian Vespers proved the source of new miseries to this people, whose happy climate seemed only to have rendered them more wicked and more miserable.

It is now time to see what new disasters were produced in this same century by the abuse of crusades, and of religion in general.

CHAPTER L.

THE CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES.

The murderous disputes between the empire and the pontificate, the riches of the monasteries, and the abuse which a number of bishops had made of their temporal power, promised, sooner or later, to irritate the minds of the people, and inspire them with a secret desire for independence. Arnold of Brescia had ventured, even in Rome, to stir up the people to shake off the yoke. They began to reason concerning religion in the twelfth century. Certain men rose up who would acknowledge no law but that of the Gospel, and preached tenets nearly the same as those at present held by the Protestants. These peo-

ple were called "Vaudois," because there were a great number of them in the valleys of Piedmont; "Albigenses," from the city of Albi, and *"Bons Hommes"* — or good people — from the regularity of life on which they piqued themselves; lastly, they were called "Manichæans," as a general appellation at that time given to the heretics. Everyone was surprised, toward the latter end of the twelfth century, to find the province of Languedoc filled with these sectaries.

In the year 1198, Pope Innocent III. deputed two Cistercian monks to try these heretics. "We command," said he, "the princes, counts, and all the lords of your province to assist them with all their power against these heretics, by the authority which they have received for the punishment of evil-doers: so that when Brother Ranier shall have pronounced sentence of excommunication against them, the lords do forthwith confiscate all their goods, banish them from their estates, and punish them with the utmost rigor, if they dare to resist. Now we have given power to Brother Ranier to oblige the lords to comply with these our orders, by excommunications, and by interdict upon their estates," etc. This was the first origin of the Inquisition.

An abbot of Citeaux was afterward nominated, in conjunction with several other monks, to go to Toulouse and do what should have been done by the bishop of the place. This procedure provoked Count de Foix, and all other princes of the country, who

had been already brought over by the reformers, and were greatly irritated against the court of Rome.

1207 — This sect was in great part composed of burghers, reduced to indigence by the long slavery from which they had barely been freed, and likewise by the Crusades. The abbot of Citeaux made his appearance among them with the equipage of a prince; but he in vain assumed the character of an apostle; for the people cried out to him, "Either quit your pomp, or your sermon." A Spaniard, bishop of Osma, a very worthy man, who was then at Toulouse, advised the inquisitors to lay aside their grand equipages, to travel on foot, to lead a life of abstinence, and imitate the behavior of the Albigenses, the surest means of converting them. St. Dominic, who had accompanied this bishop, joined with him in setting an example of this apostolic life, and seemed at that time to wish that no other arms might be employed against error. But Peter de Castelneau, one of the inquisitors, was accused of having made use of arms which suited his character, by privately exciting several of the neighboring lords against the count of Toulouse, and fomenting a civil war. This inquisitor was murdered; and the suspicion fell upon the count of Toulouse.

Pope Innocent III. did not hesitate to release the subjects of the count of Toulouse from their oath of allegiance. Such was the treatment given to the descendants of that Raymond of Toulouse, who was

the first in serving the Christian cause in the Crusades.

1209 — The count, well apprised of the fatal consequences of a bull under certain circumstances, readily submitted to the satisfaction required of him. One of the pope's legates, named Milo, commanded him to come to him at Valence, and there deliver up seven forts which he held in Provence; to enlist in a crusade against the Albigenses, his own subjects, and to make the *amende honorable*, every one of which commands the count obeyed.

There now appeared, on the one side, the duke of Burgundy, the count of Nevers, Simon, Count de Montfort, with the bishops of Sens, Autun, and Nevers, at the head of their respective troops, and the unfortunate count of Toulouse in the midst of them, as their hostage: on the other side, a set of people animated by the spirit of religious fanaticism. The city of Béziers, attempting to hold out against the crusaders, the inhabitants, who, upon its being taken, had fled for refuge to the churches, were put to the sword, and their city reduced to ashes. The inhabitants of Carcassonne, terrified at their fate, implored the mercy of the crusaders: upon which they had their lives spared, and were permitted to quit the city half naked, while their conquerors took possession of all their goods and estates.

1210 — The name of Maccabee, and Defender of the Church, was given to Count Simon de Montfort, who made himself master of a great part of

the country, seizing into his hands the castles of all the suspected lords, laying siege to those who refused to surrender, and persecuting all the heretics who dared to stand up in their own defence. Ecclesiastical historians themselves tell us that upon Simon de Montfort's giving orders to set fire to a pile of fagots, intended for the execution of these unhappy wretches, a hundred and forty of them, chanting a psalm, ran and threw themselves headlong into the midst of the flames. By thus unpeopling Languedoc they ruined the count of Toulouse, who defended himself only by negotiations. He repaired to St. Giles to meet the legates and abbots, who were the leaders of this crusade, where he pleaded his cause with tears before them; but was told that those tears only came from fury and resentment; and the legate gave him his choice, either to yield to Simon de Montfort all the lands which this count had usurped, or to be excommunicated. On this occasion, however, the count of Toulouse had the courage to prefer excommunication. After the sentence was pronounced he fled for refuge to the court of his brother-in-law, Peter, king of Aragon, who undertook to defend him, having almost as much reason as the count to be dissatisfied with the chief of the crusaders.

1211 — In the meantime the eagerness of gaining indulgences and riches increased the number of crusaders. The bishops of Paris, Losieux, and Bayeux repaired to the siege of Lavaur. At this siege there

were made prisoners eighty knights, with the lord of the town, who were all sentenced to be hanged; but the gibbet being broken down, they were delivered to the crusaders, who massacred them all in cold blood. They threw the sister of the lord of Lavaur into a well, around which they burned three hundred of the inhabitants who refused to renounce their opinions.

Prince Louis, who was afterward King Louis VIII., did indeed join these crusaders, in order to share in the spoils; but Simon de Montfort soon got rid of a companion who would have been his master.

It was the desire of the popes to bestow the conquered lands on Montfort; and the scheme was so well laid that the king of Aragon could never, with all his mediation, procure the least favor for the count of Toulouse. He, therefore, seems to have taken up arms only when every other method failed him.

1213 — The battle which he fought against the crusaders near Toulouse, and in which he was killed, was one of the most extraordinary that had ever been fought. It is related by a multitude of writers that Simon de Montfort, with only eight hundred horse and one thousand foot, attacked the army of the king of Aragon and the count of Toulouse, while they were carrying on the siege of Muret. They say that the king of Aragon had with him a hundred thousand fighting men; and that there never was a

more complete defeat; as also that Simon de Montfort, the bishop of Toulouse, and the bishop of Comines divided their army into three corps, in honor of the Holy Trinity.

But is it likely that an army of eighteen hundred men going to attack an enemy a hundred thousand strong in the open field should divide itself into three bodies? It was a miracle, some writers may say; but military men, who nowadays read these strange stories, will be very apt to treat them as absurd.

After this victory the pope held a general council at Rome, whither the count of Toulouse went to ask forgiveness. I cannot discover what reason he had to flatter himself that they would restore him his dominions. He was very lucky to escape with his liberty; and the council was even so generous as to allow him a pension of four hundred marks of silver out of his estates.

1218 — When Innocent III. died, Count Raymond of Toulouse did not meet with milder treatment: he was besieged in his capital by Simon de Montfort; but here this conqueror, who had acquired such glory by doing so much mischief, had an end put to his successes, and to his life; being crushed to death by the fall of a great stone from the walls.

He left a son on whom the pope conferred all his father's rights; but he could not give him the same credit. The crusade against Languedoc now began to lose its vigor. The son of old Raymond, who had

succeeded his father, was excommunicated as he had been; upon which Louis VIII., king of France, obtained from young Montfort the cession of all the countries which he was not able to keep; but death put a stop to Louis, in the midst of his conquests; and this state did not come entirely under the dominion of the kings of France till the reign of Philip the Bold.

The popes divided the spoils, and the young count of Toulouse was obliged in 1228 to yield them all the country of Venaissin, containing five small cities. This was the place of his asylum, and a fief of the empire, as were all the territories on the other side of the Rhone. It is to be wished that the claim of the holy see on this little state had been less odious, and that it had not been the price of blood. The good understanding between the court of France and Pope Gregory IX. wrested from the family of the counts of Toulouse these small remains of a patrimony which they had possessed ever since the time of Charlemagne. The misunderstanding between Emperor Frederick II. and this same pope restored it to them again. The emperor, as lord paramount, and insulted in his prerogative, did this act of justice. Philip the Bold, king of France, upon taking possession of the large country of Toulouse, restored the Venaissin to the popes, which, by the liberality of the kings of France, they have ever since held. The city and territory of Avignon were not included in this donation, but passed to the

Anjou branch of the house of France, which then reigned in Naples, and remained with them till the time that the unfortunate queen who held them yielded to the popes the perpetual inheritance.

During the reign of St. Louis the pope sent two Dominicans and a Franciscan friar, with the title of Inquisitors, into the country of the Albigenses, which was at that time quiet. The two Dominicans rendered themselves so odious that the inhabitants drove them out of the city. Rome was for a long time obliged to suspend the Inquisition; but at length it was established. Nevertheless, this sect still continued to exist, though weak, few in number, and forced to live in obscurity.

1251 — It was this sect that brought the scourge of the Inquisition upon Europe. Pope Innocent IV. established it all over Italy, Naples excepted, as a new tribunal which was to fix the authority of the holy see on a firm foundation. We shall see in the course of this work what cruelties this tribunal exercised in France and Spain.

CHAPTER LI.

EUROPE IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

We have seen how Europe was drained of its men and money by the Crusades, without their having in the least contributed to civilize it. Germany was filled with anarchy after the death of Frederick II. All the lords strove as to who should get most of

the public revenues annexed to the imperial state; so that when Rudolph of Hapsburg was elected emperor in 1273, they granted him only soldiers, with which he conquered Austria from Ottocar, who had taken it from the house of Bavaria.

During the interregnum which preceded the election of this Rudolph, Denmark, Poland, and Hungary freed themselves from the slight tribute they were wont to pay the emperors.

About this time several cities erected a municipal form of government, which still continues. They united together for their mutual defence against the encroachments of the great lords; and the Hanse towns, Lübeck, Cologne, Brunswick, and Dantzic, being in time joined by eighty others, formed a commercial republic, which was distributed into several states. The *austrègues* were now established, which are courts of arbitration between the lords, as well as between the towns, and hold the place of laws and courts of justice, which were wanting in Germany.

Italy adopted a new plan of government before and during the reign of Rudolph. Several cities having proclaimed their freedom, it was confirmed to them for a sum of money. At this time it appeared as if Italy might be forever separated from the German dominion.

The German lords, in order to render themselves more powerful, were desirous of having a weak emperor; and the four princes and their archbishops, who had little by little arrogated to

themselves the right of election, had joined with some other princes in choosing Rudolph of Hapsburg for emperor, only on account of his not being possessed of any considerable territories. This Rudolph was a Swiss lord, who had rendered himself formidable by being one of those chiefs called by the Italians "Condottieri." He had been champion for the abbot of St. Gall, in a dispute waged between him and the bishop of Basel about some pipes of wine. He had also relieved the town of Strasburg: but his fortune was so little proportioned to his courage that he was for some time steward of the household to that very Ottocar, king of Bohemia, who, when he was afterward pressed to do him homage as emperor, replied that he "owed him nothing, for he had always paid him his wages." The princes of Germany did not at that time foresee that this very Rudolph would be the founder of a house which continued for a long time to be the most flourishing in Europe, and which has more than once been on the point of acquiring as great a power in the empire as that of Charlemagne. This power took a considerable time in forming, and, at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries, in particular, the empire had little or no influence over Europe.

France would have been happy under a sovereign such as St. Louis was, had it not been for that fatal fondness for crusades, which occasioned all his misfortunes, and at length cost him his life on the sands

of Africa. We may perceive, by the great number of vessels fitted out for these fatal expeditions, that France might have easily acquired a large maritime commerce. The statutes of St. Louis relating to trade; the new police established by him in the city of Paris; his pragmatic sanction, by which he confirmed the discipline of the Gallic church; his four grand bailiwicks for the trying of causes among his vassals, and which gave rise to the Parliament of Paris; his regulations and exactness with regard to the coin, all plainly show that France might at that time have been made a very flourishing kingdom.

As to England, it was as happy under Edward I. as the manners of the times would allow. Wales was annexed to it; and it had conquered Scotland, which was obliged to receive a king from the hand of Edward. Indeed, the English were no longer in possession of Normandy nor Anjou, but they still had the whole province of Guienne. Edward I. had but a slight and short war with France; but this is to be attributed to the almost continual difficulties he was involved in at home, either at the time he was making the conquest of Scotland, or when he afterward lost it.

We shall allot a more particular and extensive article to Spain, which we have left for a long time a prey to the Saracens. It now remains to say a word or two of Rome.

The popedom in the thirteenth century was in the same state as it had been for a long time. The

popes, though not well settled in Rome, and having but a tottering authority in Italy, being at best but masters of a few places in St. Peter's patrimony and of Umbria, still continued to give away crowns and sit in judgment upon kings.

In 1289 Pope Nicholas solemnly determined at Rome the disputes between the king of Portugal and his clergy. We have seen that in 1283 Pope Martin IV. deposed the king of Aragon, and gave his dominions to the king of France, who was not able to put the pope's bull in force. Boniface VIII. gave Sardinia and Corsica to another king of Aragon, called James the Just.

In the year 1300, when the succession to the crown of Scotland was in dispute, Pope Boniface VIII. wrote thus to King Edward: "You ought to know that it is our place to give a king to Scotland, which has always in full right belonged, and still does belong, to the Church of Rome; but if you pretend to have any right thereto, send your lawyers to us, and we will do you justice; for we reserve this affair wholly to ourselves."

When, about the end of the thirteenth century, some princes of Germany deposed Adolph of Nassau, successor to the first prince of the house of Austria, they pretended a bull from the pope for deposing Nassau, by which they gave the pope that power which of right belonged to themselves. This same Boniface, hearing of the election of Albert, wrote thus to the electors: "We command you to pro-

claim publicly that Albert, who calls himself king of the Romans, must come and appear before us, to answer to the charge of high treason, and of excommunication incurred."

It is known that Albert of Austria, instead of appearing, gave Nassau battle near Spires, where he defeated and killed him; and that Boniface, after having loaded him with excommunication, lavished his benedictions as profusely on him in 1303, when he stood in need of his assistance against Philip the Fair. Then we find him supplying, by his power, all defects or irregularities in Albert's election; and conferring on him by his bull the kingdom of France, which of right belonged to the emperors. Thus can interest change sides, and without ceremony make use of everything holy or profane that will answer its end.

But other crowned heads tamely submitted to the papal yoke. Mary, queen of Charles the Lame, king of Naples, having laid claim to the kingdom of Hungary, carried her cause before the pope and his cardinals; and the pope adjudged the kingdom to this princess by default. Nothing was wanting to this sentence but a good army.

However, we shall soon see that France did not pay quite so much deference to Boniface. On the whole, it is sufficiently well known that this pontiff instituted the jubilee; and that he added a second crown to the pontifical cap, to signify the two powers with which he was invested. John XXII. afterward

added a third: but John had not two naked swords carried before him, as Boniface had when he went to distribute his indulgences.

CHAPTER LII.

SPAIN IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES.

When the Moors had been driven out of the kingdoms of Toledo and Valencia by the Cid, at the end of the eleventh century, Spain was divided into several governments. The kingdom of Castile contained the two Castiles, Leon, Galicia, and Valencia. The kingdom of Aragon was then annexed to Navarre. Andalusia, a part of Murcia, and Granada, still belonged to the Moors. Barcelona was governed by counts, who did homage to the kings of Aragon. One third of Portugal belonged to the Christians; but this was only a county. The son of a duke of Burgundy, descendant of Hugh Capet, whom they called Count Henry, had made himself master of it at the beginning of the twelfth century.

A crusade would have been more effectual in driving the Moors out of Spain than out of Syria; but it is very probable that the Christian princes of Spain were not very desirous of this foreign aid, choosing rather to tear their country to pieces among themselves, and dispute with the Moors, than see it invaded and stripped by crusaders.

1114 — Alphonso, surnamed the Battle-giver,

king of Aragon and Naples, took Saragossa from the Moors, which city afterward became the capital of the kingdom of Aragon and never again came under the dominion of the Moors.

Count Henry's son, whom I shall call Alphonso of Portugal, to distinguish him from the many other kings of that name, took Lisbon, the best port in Europe, from the Moors, together with all the rest of Portugal, the two Algarves excepted. He gained several battles, and at length caused himself to be crowned king of Portugal. Pope Alexander III. did not fail to pretend that it was he who gave him his crown, and demanded a tribute of two marks of gold from him; to which the king submitted, knowing that in the disputes between so many different sovereigns in Spain the pope's suffrage might sometimes incline the balance in favor of the party he espoused.

A very few efforts would now have been sufficient to drive the Moors entirely out of this part of the continent: but as to this, it was necessary that the Spanish Christians should be united among themselves; whereas they were almost perpetually at war with one another. At one time the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon were in arms against each other, and at another, Navarre was engaged against Aragon, and sometimes these three provinces were all at war together; add to this, that each kingdom was frequently disturbed by intestine broils of its own. There were three kings of Aragon, who suc-

cessively annexed a great part of Navarre to their dominions, while the Moors were in possession of the rest. Alphonso the Battle-giver, who died in 1134, was the last of these three kings. We may judge of the temper of those times and the badness of the administration, by the king's will, who left his kingdom to the Knights Templars and Knights of Jerusalem. This was, in fact, bequeathing a civil war as his last legacy. Fortunately, however, these knights were not in a condition to enforce this will. The states of Aragon, which still preserved their freedom, chose for their king Don Ramirez, brother of the deceased monarch, though he had embraced a monastic life for some forty years, and had lately been made a bishop. He was called the Priest-King, and Pope Innocent II. granted him a dispensation to marry.

1134 — In these commotions Navarre was rent from Aragon and became a kingdom of itself: it afterward fell by marriage to the counts of Champagne, it next belonged to Philip the Fair and the house of France, and at last came to the families of Foix and Albret, and is now swallowed up in the Spanish monarchy.

During these divisions the Moors strengthened themselves and retook Valencia. The frequent incursions they made gave rise to the order of Calatrava. The monks of Citeaux, finding themselves able to defray the expenses of defending the city of Calatrava, armed their convent brothers, together with

several squires, and fought under the badge of the scapulary. Soon after this the order itself was instituted, which is now neither religious nor military; every person is allowed to marry once, and it consists in nothing more than enjoying several considerable commanderies in Spain.

The quarrels among the Christians still subsisted, of which the Mahometans at different times took advantage. In the year 1197 a king of Navarre, named Don Sancho, being persecuted by those of Castile and Aragon, was obliged to go to Africa and implore aid from the emperor of Morocco; but this step, which was so likely to produce a revolution, had no such effect.

Heretofore, when almost all Spain was united under King Rodriguez, a prince of great courage, though somewhat incontinent, it was subdued in less than two years; and now that it was divided among so many powers, jealous of one another, neither the African emperor nor the Moorish king of Andalusia could make any conquest in it. The reason was that the Spaniards had become better soldiers, the country almost full of strong garrisons, and all parties united in a time of general danger; add to this, that the Moors were as imprudent in their conduct as the Christians.

At length all the Christian nations of Spain joined together to make head against the African forces which were preparing to fall upon them.

Miramolin Mahomet Ben Joseph, having crossed

the sea with an army of nearly one hundred thousand men, and being joined by the Moors of Andalusia, felt himself sure of conquering Spain. The rumor of this great armament aroused the attention of some French knights; the kings of Castile, Aragon, and Navarre united against the common danger; the kingdom of Portugal furnished troops; and these two great armies met in the defiles of the Black Mountain, or Sierra Morena, as it is called, on the borders of Andalusia, and the province of Toledo. The archbishop of Toledo was beside the king of Castile, Alphonso the Noble, and carried the cross at the head of the troops. Miramolin had in one hand a sabre, and in the other the Koran. The Christians gained the victory; and this day, July 16, still continues to be celebrated every year in Toledo: but this victory was more glorious than useful; the Moors of Andalusia were strengthened by the African army, while that of the Christians was presently dispersed.

Almost all the knights present at this battle returned to their respective homes after it was over. In those days, though they knew how to fight, they were ignorant of the art of making war; and the Moors were still less acquainted with it than the Christians. Neither Moors nor Christians kept an army constantly in the field.

Spain, taken up with her own misfortunes for the space of five hundred years, did not begin to take part in the troubles of the rest of Europe till the

time of the crusades against the Albigenses. We have seen that Peter I., king of Aragon, was obliged to assist his vassals of Languedoc and the country of Foix, who were oppressed on account of religion; and that he died fighting against Simon de Montfort, who had carried away his son, and wrested Languedoc from him. His widow, Mary of Montpellier, who had retired to Rome, pleaded her son's cause before Innocent III., beseeching him to use his authority to get him set at liberty. There have been some short periods of time in which the court of Rome gained great honor by her behavior; this was one of them. Innocent ordered Simon de Montfort to restore this child to the people of Aragon, which order was immediately obeyed. Had the popes always made the same use of their power they would have become the lawgivers of the world.

This young king, whose name was James, was the first of the kings of Aragon to whom the states of that kingdom took the oath of allegiance. It was he who took the island of Majorca from the Moors, and drove them out of the fine kingdom of Valencia, a country favored by nature, which has endowed its inhabitants with a manly strength, and furnished them with everything that can delight their senses. I do not know how so many historians can assert that the city of Valencia was not more than a mile in circumference, and at the same time that upward of fifty thousand Moors marched out of it. How

could so small a town contain so great a number of people?

This seemed a period marked out for the glory of Spain and the expulsion of the Moors. Ferdinand III., king of Castile and Leon, took the famous city of Cordova, which was the residence of their first kings, and was a much finer city than Valencia. Here they had built their magnificent mosque, and a number of noble palaces.

This Ferdinand also subdued the Moors of the province of Murcia: this country, though small, is extremely fertile, and the Moors used to get a great quantity of silk here, which they manufactured into curious stuffs. In short, after a siege of sixteen months, he made himself master of Seville, the most opulent city the Moors possessed. Death put an end to his successes. If divine honors are due to those who have been the deliverers of their country, Spain reverences the name of Ferdinand with as much reason as France invokes her St. Louis. He enacted wholesome and wise laws, as well as the king of France, and like him erected several new courts of judicature. It is likewise said that he instituted the Royal Council of Castile, which has existed ever since.

He had for minister one Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, a man who did no service to his country, and whom we must not confound with that Ximenes who was afterward regent of Castile.

The kingdoms of Castile and Aragon were at that

time very powerful; but we are not to imagine that their kings were absolute: there was no absolute monarchy then in Europe, and the nobles of Spain kept their king in stricter limits than did any other kingdom. The people of Aragon remember to this day the formulary used at the inauguration of their kings. The grand justiciary of the kingdom addressed him in the name of the states in these words: *"Nos que valemos tanto como vos, os hazemos neustro rey y señor; con tal que guardeis nuestros fueros, si no, no."*—"We, who are equal with yourself, do constitute you our king, on condition that you maintain the laws; otherwise not."

The grand justiciary did not consider this as an empty matter of form, but pretended to have a right to accuse the king before the states, and to sit as president at the trial. I do not, however, meet with any instance of their having put this privilege in force.

Castile possessed as extensive privileges, and the royal authority was as much limited there by the states, as in Aragon: in short, we may easily judge that in countries where there were such a number of lords it was as difficult for the kings to conquer their subjects as to drive out the Moors.

Alphonso, surnamed the Astronomer, or the Wise, son of St. Ferdinand, experienced the truth of this. It has been said of him that, while he was studying the heavens, he lost the earth; this trivial thought would have some justice in it had Alphonso

neglected business for study; but that he never did: the same fund of understanding which had made him a great philosopher made him likewise an excellent king. He is accused by several authors of atheism, for having said, on one occasion: "If he had been of God's privy council, he would have given him some good advice relating to the motion of the planets." But these authors do not consider that this piece of pleasantry of this wise king fell upon the Ptolemaic system, of whose insufficiency and contradictions he could not but be fully sensible. This prince rivalled the Arabians in the sciences; and the university of Salamanca, which had been erected by his father, produced no one equal to him. His tables, called after him "The Alphonsine Tables," remain to this day monuments of glory to him, and of shame to those princes who make a merit of their ignorance; but at the same time it must be owned that they were compiled by Arabians.

The difficulties with which his reign was disturbed were certainly not the effects of that love for the sciences which rendered Alphonso so illustrious, but the consequence of his father's extravagance; for, as St. Louis drained France by his crusades, so did St. Ferdinand ruin Castile for a time, even by the acquisitions he made, as they generally cost him more than they were worth.

After the death of St. Ferdinand, his son had to encounter the kingdoms of Navarre and Aragon, which had grown jealous of his power.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, with which this philosophic prince had to struggle, the princes of the empire cast their eyes on him as the most proper person for their emperor, and actually made him an offer of the imperial diadem; and if Rudolph of Hapsburg was chosen instead, I am of opinion that it may be wholly attributable to the great distance which divided Castile from Germany. Alphonso had given proof that he merited the empire by the manner in which he governed the kingdom of Castile. His collection of laws, called *"Las Partidas,"* still continues to form the principal basis of the jurisprudence of that country.

1285 — In his old age he saw his son, Sancho III., rebel against him; but certainly the son's crime is by no means the father's shame.

This Don Sancho was the only son of a second marriage, and sought during his father's lifetime to be declared heir to the crown, in prejudice to the rights of the grandchildren by the first marriage; and a meeting of his factions, under the title of The States, went so far as to make him an offer of the crown. This audacious attempt is a fresh proof of what I have so often said, that there was no law in Europe at that time; and that almost everything was decided according to the times, and the caprices of mankind.

Alphonso the Wise was now reduced to the grievous necessity of joining with the Moors against his son and his rebellious Christian subjects. This was

not the first alliance which Christians had entered into with Mahometans against other Christians; but it was certainly the most just.

Alphonso invited the miramolin of Morocco to his assistance, who thereupon crossed the sea; and the African and Castilian monarchs met at Zara on the confines of Granada. The behavior and speech of the miramolin on this occasion deserves to be perpetuated by history to all posterity. When they met, he gave the place of honor to Alphonso, with these words: "I treat you thus because you are unfortunate, and enter into alliance with you purely to avenge the common cause of all kings and all fathers." Alphonso gave his son battle, and overcame him; a further proof of how well he deserved to reign: but he died in 1287, soon after his victory.

The king of Morocco was obliged to return to his dominions; and Don Sancho, the unnatural son of Alphonso, and the usurper of the throne of his nephews, succeeded to the crown, and reigned happy and undisturbed.

The dominion of Portugal at that time contained the two Algarves, from which the Moors had been at length driven out. Algarves, in the Arabian language, signifies "The fruitful country;" and here let us not forget to observe that Alphonso the Wise had greatly assisted the Portuguese in making this conquest; all of which, in my opinion, proves that Alphonso had no reason to repent of having cultivated the sciences, as some historians would seem

to insinuate, who, in order to acquire the doubtful reputation of politicians, affect to dispute those arts which they should honor; besides, Alphonso was so far from neglecting temporal matters that he obtained from Pope Gregory X. the gift of certain tenths out of the revenues of the clergy of Leon and Castile, which he transmitted to his successors.

His family, indeed, was involved in some troubles, but it still strengthened itself against the Moors, and his grandson, Ferdinand IV., took Gibraltar from them in 1303, which was not so difficult a conquest then as it would be now.

This Ferdinand IV. is by writers called "The Summoned," because, say they, having one day in a fit of anger ordered two noblemen to be thrown from the top of a rock, they, before they were pushed off, summoned him to appear in the presence of God within a month from that day, at the end of which time he died. This prince was father to the famous Peter the Cruel, of whose excessive severity we shall have occasion to take notice; and who, though of the most implacable disposition, and the most cruel in his punishment, died without being summoned, like his father, to God's tribunal.

Aragon, which, as we have already seen, had fortified itself, gained an increase of power by the acquisition of Sicily.

The popes pretended to a power of disposing of the kingdom of Aragon, for two reasons: the first was, that they considered it as a fief of the Church of

Rome, and the second, that Peter III., surnamed the Great, who was accused of the massacre of the Sicilian Vespers, had been excommunicated, not for having had a share in that massacre, but for having taken Sicily, which the pope would not bestow upon him. His kingdom of Aragon therefore was, by the pope's decree, transferred to Charles of Valois, grandson to St. Louis; but this bull could not be carried into execution. The house of Aragon remained in a flourishing state; and soon after the popes, who had endeavored to destroy it, contributed to enrich it still more. Boniface VIII., in order to deprive the Genoese and Pisans of the possession of Sardinia and Corsica, which they were disputing about, bestowed the islands on James IV., king of Aragon, surnamed the Just.

At that time the kingdoms of Castile and France were united, as being both enemies to the house of Aragon; so that the French and Castilians were allies in their kingdoms, in their nations, and in their private persons.

What happened at that time in France, during the reign of Philip the Fair, and in the beginning of the fourteenth century, next demands our attention.

CHAPTER LIII.

PHILIP THE FAIR AND POPE BONIFACE VIII.

THE reign of Philip the Fair, who came to the throne in 1285, proved a remarkable era in France,

by the admission of the third state into the general assemblies of the nation, by the institution of the supreme tribunals, called parliaments, by the erection of a new peerage in favor of the duke of Brittany, by the abolition of duels in civil matters, and by the law of appanages, by which the succession was limited to the male heirs. We shall at present confine ourselves to two other subjects; namely, the quarrels of Philip the Fair with Pope Boniface VIII., and the extinction of the order of Knights Templars.

We have already seen that Boniface VIII., of the family of the Cajetani, resembled Gregory VII., was more learned in the canon law, and not inferior in his zeal for subjecting all powers to the Church, and the whole Church to the holy see. Italy was more than ever divided by factions of the Guelphs and Ghibellines; the latter were originally partisans of the emperors; and the empire being at that time little better than an empty name, the Ghibellines made use of that name to strengthen and aggrandize themselves. Boniface had for a long time, while a private man, been of the Ghibelline party; but we readily suppose that he turned Guelph when he came to the papal crown. It is reported of him that, as he was offering the ashes on an Ash-Wednesday to an archbishop of Genoa, that prelate threw some of them at him, as is the custom, and instead of saying: "Remember thou art a man," he said: "Remember thou art a Ghibelline." The family of the Colonnas,

who are the chief barons of Rome, and possess several noble villas in the centre of St. Peter's patrimony, were of the Ghibelline faction, and their interest with the popes was the same as that of the German lords with the emperor, and of the French nobility with the king of France. The lords opposed their feudal power in almost everything to the sovereign power.

The other barons in the neighborhood of Rome were in the same situation, and they united themselves to the kings of Sicily and the Ghibellines of the Italian cities. We must not be surprised, therefore, if the popes at all times persecuted them, and were persecuted by them; almost all these lords had, at one and the same time, diplomas as vicars of the holy see, and vicars of the empire, which must necessarily prove the source of civil wars, a source which not even the respect due to religion could heal, and which the insolence of Boniface VIII. served only to increase.

These excesses were not to be suppressed, but by the still more violent ones of Alexander VI., over a century later. The pontificate, in the time of Boniface VIII., was no longer in possession of all those territories which were held by Innocent III., and which reached from the port of Ostia to the Adriatic Sea. It pretended indeed to the supreme dominion, and possessed some cities in its own right, but it was still in the rank of very middling powers. The great revenue of the popes consisted in what was fur-

nished them by the whole body of the Church, in the tenths which they frequently collected from the clergy, in dispensations, and in taxes.

In such a situation, it was certainly most prudent for Boniface to keep fair with a power which was able to deprive him of a great part of these revenues, and strengthen the Ghibelline faction against him. Accordingly, at the beginning of his disputes with the king of France, he invited Charles of Valois, brother of Philip, over to Italy, who arrived there with some few horsemen. The pope soon afterward made him marry the granddaughter of Baldwin II., emperor of Constantinople, who had been dispossessed of his dominions, and then solemnly declared him emperor of the East; so that, in two years, he had disposed of the empires of the East and the West, and of France; for we have already observed that when this same pope was reconciled to Albert of Austria, in 1303, he made him a gift of the kingdom of France. Of these three presents one only, however, was received, which was the empire of Germany, because Albert was already in actual possession of it.

The pope, before his reconciliation with the emperor, had bestowed another title on Charles of Valois, which was that of Vicar of the Empire, in Italy, and particularly in Tuscany. He thought, that as he nominated the masters, he might certainly appoint the vicars. Charles of Valois, in order to please his benefactor, commenced a violent persecu-

tion against the Ghibelline faction in Florence; and yet, at the very time Charles was doing him this piece of service, Boniface insulted his brother, the king of France, and drove him to the greatest extremities. Nothing more clearly proves that passion and animosity frequently got the better, even of self-interest.

Philip the Fair, who wanted to spend a great deal of money, and had but little, pretended that the clergy, the richest order in the state, ought to contribute to the wants of the kingdom, without the permission of Rome. The pope, on the other hand, wanted to have the money which had been raised by a tenth penny for the assistance of the Holy Land, which was no longer in a condition to be relieved, and was under the dominion of a descendant of Genghis Khan. This money King Philip had made use of for carrying on the war in Guienne in 1301 and 1302, against Edward, king of England. This was the first cause of the quarrel between the pope and the king; and the insolence of a bishop of Pamiers put things into a still greater ferment. This man had caballed against the king in his diocese, which at that time was under the jurisdiction of the crown; and the pope later nominated him his legate to the French court. This subject being thus invested with a dignity which, according to the court of Rome, made him equal with the king himself, comes to Paris, braves his sovereign, and threatens to lay his kingdom under an interdict. A lay-

man, who had behaved in this manner, would have been punished with death; but here the king was obliged to use the utmost precaution even in securing the person of this insolent churchman, and at last was forced to deliver him into the hands of his metropolitan, the archbishop of Narbonne.

Immediately upon this, out comes a bull from the pope, in which it is declared that, "the vicar of Jesus Christ is placed with full power over the kings and kingdoms of the earth." At the same time all the bishops of France receive an order from his holiness to repair to Rome. A nuncio, who was only archdeacon of Narbonne, comes and presents this bull and these orders to the king, at the same time declaring to him that he must acknowledge, as well as all other princes, that he holds his crown of the pope. This insolence was answered with a moderation which appeared little consistent with Philip's character: he contented himself with ordering the pope's bull to be thrown into the fire, and sent the nuncio back to his own country; at the same time prohibiting the bishops from stirring out of the kingdom, notwithstanding which, at least forty of them, with several of the heads of religious orders, went to Rome.

1303 —The king was now obliged to call a general assembly of the states, to decide the plain question as to whether the bishop of Rome was king of France or not.

Cardinal le Moine, a Frenchman by birth, who

had now no other country than Rome, came to Paris to negotiate matters, and, if he could not succeed, to excommunicate the kingdom. This new legate had orders to bring the king's confessor, a Dominican friar, with him to Rome, in order to give an account of his own conduct, as well as of the king's. Everything that human art could invent to exalt the pope's authority was exhausted on this occasion; the bishops were all submissive to him; new religious orders immediately depending on the holy see everywhere carried his standard; a king who confessed his most secret thoughts, or at least was supposed to confess them to one of those monks; and then, to complete the whole, this monk summoned by the pope, his master, to come and give an account at Rome of the conscience of his penitent. Notwithstanding this, Philip did not yield, but seized upon the temporalities of all the absent prelates. The states appeal to a future general council, and a future pope: an expedient which betrayed a conscious weakness; for to appeal to the pope was acknowledging his authority, and what occasion have mankind for either council or pope to know that all governments are independent, and that we owe obedience only to the laws of our country?

The pope then deprived all the ecclesiastical bodies of France of the right of election, and the universities of their right of conferring degrees, and even of teaching, as if he was revoking a gift of his own

granting. These were still but feeble arms; and he in vain endeavored to strengthen them by the forces of the German Empire, Albert of Austria not being sufficiently strong to afford him any assistance.

The French king was now at liberty to treat the pope as a prince with whom he was at open war. Accordingly he joined with the family of Colonna; and William de Nogaret went into Italy under plausible pretences, where he privately raised a few horse, with which he joined Sciarra Colonna. They surprised the pope at Agnana, a town in his own demesnes, and the place of his birth, crying out: "Let the pope die, and long live the French!" The pontiff, however, did not lose his courage; he dressed himself in his cope, put his tiara upon his head, and holding the keys in one hand, and the cross in the other, he presented himself with an air of majesty before Colonna and Nogaret. It is very doubtful whether Colonna had not the brutality to strike him; however, the writers of that time say that he cried out to him: "Tyrant, renounce the pontificate, which thou dishonorest, as thou hast obliged Celestine to renounce it." Boniface replied, with an air of intrepidity: "I am pope, and I will die pope." The French then plundered his palace, and made themselves master of his treasure. But after these outrages, which had more the appearance of robbery than the just vengeance of a great king, the inhabitants of Agnana, perceiving the

inconsiderable number of the French, and ashamed to leave their countryman and their pope in the hands of foreigners, attacked them, and drove them out of the town. Boniface then returned to Rome, meditating revenge; but died in 1303, almost immediately on his arrival.

Philip the Fair pursued his enemy even into the grave, by endeavoring to get his memory condemned in council; and actually engaged Clement V., who was born his subject, and who then held his see at Avignon, to declare the process commenced against the pope, his predecessor, equitable and in form. He was there accused of having prevailed on Pope Celestine V., his predecessor, to resign the pontificate; of having procured his own election by illegal methods; and, in short, of having put Celestine to death in prison. This last charge was indeed but too justly founded; one of his own domestics, named Maffredo, and thirteen other witnesses, deposed publicly that he had more than once insulted the religion from which he derived his power, by saying: "How profitable has this fabulous story of Jesus Christ been to us!" and consequently, that he denied the mysteries of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, and Transubstantiation. These depositions are still to be seen in the collection of juridical inquests. An accusation is generally strengthened by the number of witnesses, but here they served rather to weaken it; for is it at all likely, that a sovereign pontiff would have made such a

declaration before thirteen witnesses as no one would choose to do before a single person? Clement V. was prudent enough to stifle by delays an inquiry which would have proved very dishonorable to the Church.

Some time afterward, all Europe and Asia were astonished by an event which had its source also in the vindictive spirit of Philip the Fair.

CHAPTER LIV.

THE PUNISHMENT OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS, AND THE SUPPRESSION OF THAT ORDER.

Among the many contradictions which enter into the government of this world, it is certainly not the least, that there should be such an institution as that of armed monks, who make a vow of living as anchorets and soldiers.

The Knights Templars were accused of uniting in their order every bad quality of the two professions; namely: the debauchery and cruelty of the soldier, and that insatiable thirst for gain, which is imputed to those great orders who have made a vow of poverty.

While they and the Hospitaller Knights of St. John were enjoying the fruits of their labors, the Teutonic order, which like theirs, was first instituted in the Holy Land, made themselves masters in the thirteenth century, of Prussia, Livonia, Courland, and Samogitia. The Teutonic Knights were accused

of reducing the clergy as well as the peasants to a state of slavery; of robbing them of their possessions; of usurping the rights of the bishops; and of exercising every shocking act of rapine and plunder. But conquerors are generally exempt from rigid inquiry.

The Templars had made themselves objects of envy, by living among their countrymen with all that pomp and splendor which are the attendants of great wealth, and in those licentious pleasures in which soldiers generally indulge, when unrestrained by the marriage curb.

1306—The severity of the taxes, and the maladministration of Philip and his council, in regard to the coin, raised a sedition in Paris. The Knights Templars, who had the keeping of the king's treasury, were accused of having been concerned in the mutiny; and we have already seen that Philip the Fair was implacable in his revenge.

The first who preferred accusations against this order, was a burgher of Béziers, named Squin de Florian, and Noffo de Florentin, an apostate Templar, both of them at that time under confinement for crimes they had committed. These men demanded to be carried before the king, to whom they had some affairs of the utmost importance to divulge, and which they would reveal to no other person. Had these men not heard of the king's indignation against the Templars, they could hardly have expected to gain a pardon by accusing them.

They had a hearing; and, in consequence of the deposition they made before the king, he directed all the bailiffs and other officers of justice in the kingdom to call assistance; and sent them a warrant sealed, with orders, upon pain of death, to open it on Oct. 13, 1309. The day being come, each of them opened his order, and found it was to imprison all the Knights Templars; accordingly they were all arrested, and the king immediately caused all their estates to be seized in his name, till they could be properly disposed of.

It is plain to me, that their ruin was resolved upon long before this affair broke out. Their accusation and imprisonment happened in 1309; but letters have been found from Philip the Fair to the count of Flanders, dated from Melun, in 1306, in which he requests that prince to join with him in extirpating the Templars.

It now remained to try this vast multitude of criminals. Pope Clement V. who was Philip's creature and resided at that time at Poitiers joined with him, after having settled some disputes between them concerning the right which the Church had of judging religious orders, and the king's right of judging his subjects. The pope himself examined seventy-two knights, and the rest were prosecuted by inquisitors and commissaries appointed for that purpose. Bulls were despatched to all the potentates of Europe, to excite them to imitate the example of France. The courts of Castile, Aragon, Sicily, and

England, complied with them, so far as to banish all of the order; but these unfortunate people were put to death nowhere but in France. They were accused, by two hundred and one witnesses, of denying Jesus Christ at their admittance into the order, of spitting on the cross, and of worshipping a golden head erected on a block with four feet. The novice kissed the knight who had made his vow, and was received by him with a kiss on his mouth, his navel, and a certain part which seems to be seldom destined for such a purpose: he then swore to give himself up in all things to the brotherhood. We learn from the informations relating to this affair preserved down to our time, that these several articles were acknowledged by seventy-two Templars to the pope himself, and by one hundred and forty-one to Brother William, a Franciscan friar and inquisitor at Paris, before witnesses. It is further added, that the grand master of the order himself, the grand master of Cyprus, the masters of France, Poitou, Vienne, and Normandy, made the same confession to three cardinals who were sent by the pope to examine them.

Certain it is, that more than one hundred knights were put to the most cruel torture; that fifty more were burned in one day near the abbey of St. Anthony of Paris; and that the grand master, Jean de Molay, and Guy, brother to the dauphin of Auvergne, two of the principal lords in Europe—the one by his dignity, and the other by his birth — were

also thrown alive into the flames, on the very spot where now stands the equestrian statue of King Henry IV.

The tortures with which so many respectable citizens were put to death, the cloud of witnesses which appeared against them, and the numerous confessions of the accused themselves, seem strong proofs of their crime and the justice of their punishment.

But how many things may be offered in their favor; in the first place, of all the witnesses who deposed against these Templars, the greater part have only made idle and vague accusations.

Secondly, very few of the evidences swear to their denying Christ; and indeed, what were they to gain by reviling a religion which was their support, and for which they fought?

Thirdly, allowing that several of them, who had been witnesses to, and even sharers in, the debauches of the princes and clergy of those times, might have expressed a contempt for the abuses of a religion which had been so shamefully dishonored both in Asia and Europe, and that in their freer moments they might have expressed themselves much after the same manner as Boniface VIII. did when speaking of it; yet, after all, this is but the folly of young people, and by no means chargeable upon the order.

Fourthly, the golden head, which it was pretended they worshipped, and which they were said to keep at Marseilles, certainly should have been produced; on the contrary, there was not the least search made

after it, and we must acknowledge that this part of the accusation overthrows itself.

Fifthly, the infamous manner of their admission into the society, with which they are reproached, could never have been made a law. It shows a very indifferent knowledge of mankind, to suppose that there can be any societies that support themselves by the badness of their morals, or who make a law of impudence and obscenity. Every society endeavors to render itself respectable to those who are desirous of becoming members of it; not that I doubt that several of the young knights might have given themselves up to these excesses, which have prevailed in all times among youth; but these are vices which it is always better to ignore than to punish.

Sixthly, if there were a great many evidences against the Templars, there were likewise a great number of witnesses of other countries in their favor.

Seventhly, if the parties accused, overcome by the severity of the tortures they underwent, did confess such a multitude of crimes, their confession perhaps will be found to reflect as much infamy upon their judges as upon themselves, these having flattered them with hopes of pardon, to extort a confession from them.

Eighthly, the fifty-nine who were burned alive took God to witness for their innocence, and refused

to accept life when it was offered them, on condition of pleading guilty.

Ninthly, seventy-four Templars, who were not accused, engaged to defend the cause of the order, but they were not permitted to be heard.

Tenthly, when they read to the grand master the confession which he had made before the three cardinals, and which had been taken down in writing, that old warrior, who could neither write nor read, cried out that he was betrayed; that they had written a different deposition to that which he had given; and that the cardinals who were concerned in this piece of treachery deserved to be punished as the Turks punished those guilty of forgery, by cleaving them asunder.

In the eleventh and last place, the grand master, and Guy, brother of the dauphin of Auvergne, were offered their lives, if they would make a public acknowledgment of the crimes laid to their charge; and they burned them at last, only because, when called upon on the scaffold, in the presence of the people, to acknowledge the justice of the accusation against the order, they solemnly swore that the order was innocent of what was alleged against it. This declaration incensed the king, and drew upon them their punishment; and they died crying out in vain for the vengeance of heaven to fall upon their persecutors.

In the meantime, in consequence of the pope's bull, and the great riches of the order, the Templars were

persecuted over all Europe; only in Germany they found means to secure their persons against the fury of their persecutors. In Aragon they sustained sieges in several of their castles; at length, the pope abolished the order by his own authority, in a private consistory held at Vienne, in 1312, and those might share the spoils who were able. The kings of Castile and Aragon seized upon part of their possessions, and gave part to the Knights of Calatrava. The lands belonging to the order in France, Italy, England, and Germany, were given to the Hospitaller Knights, then called the Knights of Rhodes, on account of their having lately taken that island from the Turks, and which they afterward defended with a courage that deserved to be rewarded at least with the spoils of the Templars.

Denis, king of Portugal, instituted in their room the order of the Knights of Christ, which was at first intended to fight against the Moors; but which coming afterward to be a badge of honor, has now ceased even to be an honor, by being indiscriminately lavished.

Philip the Fair took two hundred thousand livres on his own account, and his son, Louis Hutin, sixty thousand more, out of the estates of the Knights Templars. That faithful and exact historian, Dupuis, says that the pope did not forget himself in this partition.

We must now consider another memorable event, which happened about the same time, and does more

honor to human nature, as it gave rise to an invincible republic.

CHAPTER LV.

SWITZERLAND, AND THE REVOLUTION IN THAT COUNTRY AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Of all the countries in Europe, Switzerland was that which preserved most the simplicity and poverty of the earlier ages. If Switzerland was not a free country, it would not deserve our attention, nor indeed a place in the history of the world, but would lie undistinguished and confounded with the many more rich and fruitful provinces which have followed the fate of those kingdoms in which they are included. Those only engage attention who are something of themselves. A gloomy climate, a rocky and barren soil, rude mountains, and frightful precipices, are all that nature has done for three parts of this country: and yet the sovereignty of these rocks was disputed with as much fury and obstinacy as the possession of the kingdom of Naples, or of Asia Minor, for which the lives of so many thousands were sacrificed.

During the eighteen years of anarchy in which Germany was without an emperor, there were warm disputes between several lords of castles and prelates, about who should have a small portion of Switzerland. The small towns aimed at being free,

in the same manner as the cities of Italy, under the protection of the emperor.

When Rudolph was elected emperor, several lords of castles formally accused the cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, of having withdrawn themselves from their feudal subjection. Rudolph, who had formerly fought against these petty tyrants, decided in favor of the citizens.

Albert of Austria, his son, upon his accession to the empire, wanted to erect Switzerland into a principality for one of his children. A part of this country was his own demesne, as Luzerne, Zurich, and Glarus; tyrannical governors were sent among these people, who abused their power.

The founders of the Helvetian liberty were Melchthal, Stauffacher, and Walther Fürst. The difficulty of pronouncing these truly respectable names has been a great hindrance to their fame with posterity. These three peasants were the first conspirators; and each of them drew in three others. These twelve gained over the cantons of Schwyz, Uri, and Unterwalden.

It is related by all the historians of these times, that while this conspiracy was in agitation, a governor of Uri, called Gessler, devised a most ridiculous and detestable act of tyranny: he caused, they say, his hat to be fixed upon a pole in the market place, and all who passed by were commanded, upon pain of death, to pay their respects to it. One of the conspirators, whose name was William Tell,

refused to pay this honor to the hat; upon which the governor ordered him to be hanged, but granted him his pardon, on condition that, as he was reckoned an excellent marksman, he should, with his arrow, strike an apple from his son's head. The father trembling let fly his arrow, and had the good fortune to strike off the apple without hurting his son. Gessler perceiving a second arrow under Tell's coat, inquired of him what he intended to do with it; "It was designed for thee," replied the Swiss in a rage, "if I had killed my son." It must be confessed that this story of the apple needs a little confirmation. It seems as if it was thought necessary to ornament the birth of the Helvetic liberty with a fabulous narrative. It is, however, agreed on all hands, that Tell, having been laid in irons for his speech, killed the governor afterward with an arrow; which was the signal for the conspirators to rise; who being joined by the people, attacked and demolished all the fortresses.

1315 — Emperor Albert of Austria, intending to punish these people who had made so glorious a struggle for liberty, was prevented from carrying his design into execution by death. Leopold, duke of Austria, the same who violated the laws of hospitality, in the person of Richard Cœur de Lion, marched against them with an army of twenty thousand men; and the people of Switzerland behaved, on this occasion, like the Lacedæmonians at the pass of Thermopylæ. A small body of four

or five hundred men waited for the main part of the Austrian army at the pass of Morgarten: but they were more fortunate than the Lacedæmonians; for they put their enemies to flight, by rolling great stones down upon them. The other detachments of the army were beaten at the same time by as small a number.

These victories being gained in the canton of Schwyz, the other two cantons gave this name to their confederacy, which still reminds them, by the very name, of the victory to which they are indebted for their liberty.

The other cantons by degrees joined in the alliance. Berne, which is in Switzerland the same as Amsterdam is in the republic of Holland, did not join the league till 1352; and it was not till the year 1513 that the petty country of Appenzell joined the other cantons; which completed the number thirteen.

Never did any nation fight longer and harder for their liberty than the Swiss: they purchased it by sixty battles against the Austrians; and it is probable they will preserve it for a long time. Every country that is not of great extent, abounds not in wealth, and is governed by mild laws, should be free. The change of government in Switzerland seems to have wrought a change in the face of the country. The rude soil, which lay neglected under cruel and tyrannical masters, now appears cultivated. The craggy rocks are covered with vines; and the wild

heath, tilled by the hands of freedom, is now a fruitful plain.

Equality, the natural inheritance of mankind, still subsists as much as possible in Switzerland. In short, this country might have deserved the name of happy, had not religion afterward divided those citizens whom the public good at first united; and if, while they sold their services to princes richer than themselves, they had taken care always to preserve that incorruptibility for which their nation is distinguished.

There has been in all nations a time when the minds of the people seem to have been carried away beyond their natural character. Such times have been less frequent in Switzerland than elsewhere. Simplicity, frugality, and moderation, the preservers of liberty, have always been the portion of these people. They have never maintained armies to defend their own frontiers, or to make encroachments on their neighbors. They have no citadels, which may be turned either against the citizens or the enemy; nor do they groan beneath the burden of taxes. They have neither the calls of luxury, nor the troops of a master to provide for. Their mountains are their only ramparts; and every member of the community is a soldier ready armed for the defence of the country.

CHAPTER LVI.

SEQUEL OF THE STATE OF THE EMPIRE, ITALY, AND THE PONTIFICATE, IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

We have now entered upon the fourteenth century, and may have observed, that for the space of six hundred years, Rome, though weak and miserable, was always the principal object of Europe. She governed by religion, even while plunged in meanness, and rent in pieces by anarchy: and, notwithstanding all her humiliations and troubles, the emperors were never able to establish the throne of the Cæsars in Rome, nor could the pontiffs render themselves absolute. From the time of Frederick II. we find four emperors successively who seem to have entirely forgotten Italy; namely, Conrad IV., Rudolph I., Adolphus of Nassau, and Albert of Austria. Accordingly at that time all the cities of Italy recovered their natural rights, and set up the standard of liberty. Genoa and Pisa emulated the example of the Venetians; Florence became an illustrious republic; and Bologna refused to acknowledge any longer either emperors or popes. The municipal form of government prevailed everywhere, and more particularly in Rome. Clement V., who was called the Gascon Pope, chose rather to abandon Italy, and transfer the holy see to France, where he might enjoy the sweets of those liberal contributions furnished at that time by all the faith-

ful, than to dispute in vain the possession of a few towns and castles in the neighborhood of Rome. Accordingly, in 1312, this pope fixed the court of Rome on the frontiers of France; and these times are still called, by the people of Rome, the times of the captivity of Babylon. This good pontiff made a circuit of Lyons, Vienne, and Avignon, carrying about with him publicly the countess of Perigord, his mistress; and collecting as much money as he could possibly raise from the pious donations of the faithful.

How comes it that the Italians did not, at this juncture, while both the emperors and the popes were at such a distance from them, act as the Germans had done, who, under the very eyes of their emperors, had from century to century established their independence, and raised themselves to an equality with the supreme power? There was no longer an emperor, nor a pope in Italy; what was it then that forged new chains for that delightful country? Discord and division. The Guelph and Ghibelline factions, which arose from the quarrels between the pontificate and the empire, still existed like a latent flame, which was receiving continual increase from new disorders. Discord reigned everywhere. Italy did not form a body; Germany always did. In short, the first enterprising emperor who should think proper to repass the Alps, had it in his power to renew the rights and claims of the Charlemagnes and others. This at length hap-

pened under Henry VII., of the house of Luxemburg, who, in 1311, made a descent into Italy with an army of Germans, in order to get himself acknowledged. The Guelph party looked upon this journey as a new irruption of Barbarians; but the Ghibellines favored him. In his way he reduced the cities of Lombardy, which was a new conquest; and, at length, marched to Rome to receive the imperial crown.

Rome, who desired neither emperor nor pope, yet was unable to shake off the yoke of either, shut her gates against him in vain. Nor could the Orsini, and the brother of Robert, king of Naples, hinder the emperor, assisted by the Colonnas, from entering the city, sword in hand, in 1313. They fought a long time in the streets, and a bishop of Liège was killed by the emperor's side. Much blood was shed on account of this ceremony of the coronation, which was at length performed by the cardinals instead of the pope. We must not forget that the emperor protested before a notary, that the oath taken by him at his consecration was not an oath of allegiance.

Henry, now master of Rome, appointed a governor of that city; and ordered that all the cities and princes of Italy should pay him an annual tribute. In this order he comprised the kingdom of Naples, then separated from that of Sicily, and summoned its king to appear before him.

The pope was lord paramount of the kingdom of

Naples; and the emperor called himself lord paramount of the pope. A strange kind of right on both sides!

The emperor was going to make good his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples by arms, when he died, as some say, by poison given him by a Dominican friar, in the consecrated wine of the sacrament.

At that time the emperors communicated in both species, in quality of canons of the church of St. John Lateran. They had a right to officiate as deacons at the pope's mass, and then the kings of France were to act as subdeacons.

We have no authentic proofs that Henry VII. was really poisoned in this sacrilegious manner. Friar Bernard Politianus of Montepulciano was the person accused of it; and thirty years afterward the Dominican order obtained letters from John, king of Bohemia, son of this Henry VII., in which he declares them innocent. After all, it was very unfortunate that they stood in need of such letters.

As in the elections of popes, at that time, there was but little order observed; so were those of the emperors very irregular. Mankind had not yet found out prudent laws to prevent schisms.

Louis of Bavaria, and Frederick the Handsome, duke of Austria, were elected at the same time in the midst of the most fatal disorders: and the sword alone could decide a point which should have been determined by a regular diet of electors. At length a battle, in which the Austrian was defeated

and taken prisoner, placed the crown on the head of the Bavarian, in 1322.

The reigning pope at that time was John XXII., who had been elected at Lyons in 1315. Lyons looked upon itself then as a free city; but its bishop always wanted to be its master, and the kings of France had not yet been able to reduce the bishop to subjection. Philip the Long, before he was well settled upon the throne of France, called an assembly of cardinals in this free city; and after having given them his oath that he would use no violence towards them, he caused them all to be shut up, and would not set them at liberty till they had nominated John XXII.

This pope is another strong example of what great things may be done, in the Church, by merit alone; for he doubtless must have had no small share of it, who, from a cobbler, rose to be the head of the Christian world.

He was one of those pontiffs who surpass others in haughtiness in proportion to the meanness of their birth. It has been already observed, that the papal court subsisted only on the contributions of the faithful, and a fund more considerable than even the lands of Countess Mathilda. When I speak of the merits of John XXII., I do not include in the number that of disinterestedness; for this pontiff was more rigorous than any of his predecessors in exacting the dues of the Church; not only from the English, who had been very remiss in the payment of

the St. Peter's penny, but likewise from the Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, and the Poles, who owed tributes to the holy see: and he made his demands so frequently, and in such peremptory terms, that he generally succeeded in drawing money from them. But he could hardly be called a pope who resided at Lyons, and had little or no interest in Italy.

While he held his court at Lyons, and Louis of Bavaria was establishing himself in Germany, Italy was lost to them both. The Visconti began to establish themselves at Milan. Emperor Louis, who could not humble them, pretended to protect them, and granted them the title of his lieutenants. These Visconti, who were of the Ghibelline party, having seized on part of the lands of Countess Mathilda, which had been a perpetual subject of discord, John XXII. caused them to be declared heretics by the Inquisition. As he resided in France, he could run no risk in issuing one of those bulls by which the popes bestow and take away empires. He deposed Emperor Louis of Bavaria in his own imagination, depriving him, to use his own words, "Of all his goods movable and immovable."

The emperor thus deposed, marched into Italy, where his deposer did not dare to face him, and arrived at Rome, in 1327, which was still only the temporary residence of the emperors, accompanied by Castracani, tyrant of Lucca, Machiavelli's hero.

Ludovico Monaldesco, a native of Orvieto, who at the age of one hundred and fifteen wrote the

memoirs of his own time, says, that he well remembers the entry of Emperor Louis of Bavaria; and tells us that the populace chanted before him: "Blessed be God and the emperor, who have delivered us from war, famine, and the pope." This passage is no further deserving of our notice, than as it comes from a man who wrote at the age of a hundred and fifteen.

Louis called a general assembly at Rome, resembling the ancient parliaments held by Charlemagne, and his sons. This assembly or parliament was held in the very piazza of St. Peter, at which a crowd of German and Italian princes, deputies of cities, bishops, abbots, and monks assisted. The emperor was seated on a throne, raised above the steps of the church, with the crown on his head, and the golden sceptre in his hand. Here he ordered the following proclamation to be made three times by an Augustine friar: "Is there any person who will defend the cause of the priest of Cahors, who calls himself Pope John?" No one appearing, Louis pronounced sentence, by which he deprived the pope of all his benefices, and delivered him over to the secular arm to be burned as a heretic. The condemning to death in this manner of a sovereign pontiff, was the utmost extreme to which the quarrels between the empire and the pontificate could be carried.

Some days afterward the emperor, with the same ceremony, created a new pope, who was a Neapolitan Cordelier; he invested him with the ring, put the

cope upon him himself, and made him sit down by his side under the canopy; but he took care not to conform to the custom of kissing the pontiff's feet.

Among all the religious orders, of each of which I shall speak separately, the Franciscans or Cordeliers at that time made the greatest noise. Some among them pretended that religious perfection consisted in wearing a sharp-pointed cowl, and a very close habit. To this reform of dress they added the idea of general property in eating and drinking. The pope had condemned these propositions, and this occasioned a revolt on the side of the reformers. At length the dispute between them growing warm, the inquisitors of Marseilles caused four of these unhappy monks to be burned.

1328 — The Franciscan who had been nominated pope by the emperor, was one of their sect; and this was sufficient for John XXII. to be declared a heretic. This pope seemed destined to be accused of heresy; for not long after that, having said in a sermon, that the saints would not enjoy the beatific vision till the final judgment; and that, in the meantime, they had an imperfect vision: this affair of the two visions caused a schism in the churches, and John at length thought proper to retract his opinion.

But all this mighty parade of Louis of Bavaria at Rome produced no more consequence than the efforts of the other German Cæsars. Like them, he was recalled by troubles in Germany, and Italy slipped through his hands.

Louis was far from being a powerful prince; and therefore, after his return to Germany, could not hinder his pope from being taken prisoner by John's party, and carried to Avignon, where he was confined. In short, such was the difference between an emperor and a pope in those days, that Louis of Bavaria, though a prudent prince, died poor in his own country; while the pope, who lived at a distance from Rome, and drew very little assistance from Italy, left, when he died at Avignon, in 1344, treasure to the amount of twenty-five millions of gold florins, if we give credit to Villani, a contemporary writer: but Villani certainly exaggerates; and if we reduce this sum to one-third, it will still be excessive, and such as the papacy never was worth to any other person; but never did any other pope sell such a number of benefices, nor at so high a price.

He kept the reversion of all the prebendaries, of most of the bishoprics, and the revenues of all vacant benefices in his own hands. By this means he acquired a leading interest in most elections, and the disposal of all benefices. Besides this, he seldom made one bishop without removing seven or eight. One promotion was the cause of several others, all of which brought in money. The taxes for dispensations and mortal sins were first invented and carried into law in his pontificate. The book of these taxes, of which there were several impressions in the sixteenth century, brought these desperate

abuses to light, which were always condemned by the Church, and which she found the greatest difficulty to abolish.

The popes, his successors, continued at Avignon until 1371. This city did not belong to them, but to the counts of Provence; but the popes had insensibly made themselves usufructuary masters of it, while the counts of Provence were disputing with the kings of Naples for the possession of that kingdom.

The unfortunate Queen Joan, of whom we shall speak in the ensuing chapter, thought herself happy, in 1348, to cede the town of Avignon to Pope Clement VI. for eighty thousand florins in gold, which he never paid. The papal court, which resided there in full tranquillity, spread riches and plenty throughout Provence and Dauphiny, and forgot the stormy mansions of Rome.

I meet with few times since Charlemagne in which the Romans did not recall their ancient notions of grandeur and liberty. Sometimes as we have seen, they chose a number of senators, sometimes a single one only, or else a patrician, or a governor, or a council, and sometimes a tribune: and, now when they found that the pope had purchased Avignon, they entertained thoughts of restoring the ancient republic. In this view they bestowed the office of tribune on a private citizen called Nicholas Rienzi, and commonly Cola, a man who, born a fanatic, became ambitious, and consequently capable of great

things, which he undertook, and amused the Roman people with the most flattering hopes. It is of this person that Petrarch speaks in one of the finest odes or canzoni, where he describes Rome with dishevelled hair and streaming eyes imploring the assistance of Rienzi.

Con gli occhi di dolor bagnati e molli
Ti chier' mercè da titti sette i colli.
She supplicates thy aid with streaming eyes,
And all her seven hills echo with her cries.

This tribune assumed the title of "the severe and merciful deliverer of Rome, the stickler for the liberties of Italy, and the lover of all mankind." He declared all the inhabitants of Italy free, and citizens of Rome. But those convulsive struggles of a long expiring liberty proved as inefficacious as the pretensions of the emperors on Rome. This tribunate had a still shorter duration than even the senate and consulate which had been set up before in vain. Rienzi, who set out like the Gracchi, met with the same end, being assassinated by the patrician faction.

Rome necessarily fell to decay by being deprived of the residence of the papal court, by the troubles of Italy, the barrenness of her own territories, and the removal of her manufactures to Genoa, Pisa, Venice, and Florence. Her only support now depended on the numerous pilgrimages made to her holy places.

The grand jubilee in particular, which was first

instituted by Boniface VIII. at the beginning of every century, but afterward changed by Clement VI. to every fiftieth year, brought a vast concourse of people to Rome; insomuch that, in the year 1350, they reckoned over two hundred thousand pilgrims in that city. Thus Rome, destitute of both emperor and pope, continued the weakest and principal city in the Christian world.

CHAPTER LVII.

JOAN, QUEEN OF NAPLES.

We have already observed that the holy see had made the purchase of Avignon from Joan of Anjou and Provence, queen of Naples. It is seldom found that princes dispose of their dominions, unless they are under great difficulties. The misfortune and death of this queen make part of the events of these times, and especially of the great schism in the West, of which we shall soon have occasion to treat.

The kingdoms of Naples and Sicily still continued to be ruled by foreigners. Naples was governed by the house of France, and Sicily by that of Aragon. Robert, who died in 1343, had made Naples a flourishing kingdom. His nephew, Louis of Anjou, had been elected king of Hungary. The house of France extended its branches on all sides: but these branches were not united either to the common stock, or with each other, and were all unfortunate. Robert, king of Naples, had married his granddaughter

and heiress, Joan, to Andrew, brother of the king of Hungary. This match, which seemed to cement the happiness of that house, proved the source of all its misfortunes. Andrew pretended to reign in his own right; and Joan, young as she was, insisted that he should be considered only as the queen's husband. A Franciscan friar, called Brother Robert, by whose advice Andrew was wholly governed, lighted up the flames of hatred and discord between this royal pair. Joan had her court composed of Neapolitans; while that of Andrew consisted of Hungarians, who were looked upon as barbarians by the natives of the country. This proved a fresh subject of animosity; and it was soon determined in a council of the queen's favorites, principally composed of Louis, prince of Tarentum, of the royal blood, who afterward married the queen, some other princes of the blood, and the famous Catanese, so remarkable for her attachment to Joan, to put Andrew to death. He was accordingly strangled in the city of Aversa, in his wife's antechamber, and, in a manner, before her eyes; after which his body was thrown out of the window into the street, where it remained without burial for three days. In a year after this, the queen was married to the prince of Tarentum, who was publicly accused of the murder of her husband. How strong a presumption of her own guilt! but those who undertake to justify her, allege that she was married to four different husbands: and that a queen who could so often submit to the marriage

yoke, cannot with justice be accused of crimes that are committed only through excess of love. But does love then alone inspire such horrid actions? Joan consented to the death of her first husband through weakness; and it was owing to a more pardonable kind of weakness, and more common to her sex, that she had three husbands afterward: she was incapable of managing the reins of government alone.

Louis of Hungary, brother of the murdered Andrew, wrote to Joan, that he would avenge the death of his brother on her and her accomplices. Accordingly he set out for Naples, by the way of Venice and Rome. At Rome he accused Joan publicly before the tribune, Cola Rienzi, who during the existence of his ridiculous and transitory power, beheld several kings appealing to his tribunal, as they did in the time of the old republic. Rienzi, however, declined giving his decision, by which alone he gave an example of his prudence.

In the meantime Louis advanced toward Naples, carrying with him a black standard, on which was painted the king's murder. He ordered Charles of Durazzo, a prince of the blood, and one of the accomplices in the murder, to be beheaded, and pursued Queen Joan, who, with her new consort, fled before him into her territories of Provence. One very extraordinary circumstance in this affair is, that ambition had no part in the revenge taken for Andrew's murder. Louis might have made

himself master of the kingdom of Naples, but he did not do it. Examples of this kind are rarely to be met with. He was a prince of the most rigid virtue, on which account he was afterward chosen king of Poland. We shall speak more particularly of him when we come to treat of the kingdom of Hungary.

Joan, who before she had attained the age of twenty, had steeped herself in guilt, and suffered the punishment due to a crime that drew as many miseries upon her subjects as upon herself, abandoned at once by the people of Naples and Provence, went to seek Pope Clement VI., in Avignon, a city of which she was sovereign, and which she sold to that pontiff in 1348, together with its territories, for eighty thousand florins of gold, which she never received. While she was negotiating this affair, she appeared before the consistory, where she pleaded her cause in person, and was by the general voice declared innocent. Clement VI., in order to engage the king of Hungary to quit Naples, stipulated for Joan, that he should pay him three hundred thousand florins; Louis, however, returned for answer, that he did not come to sell his brother's blood, but to avenge it; and as he had partly effected this he would go away satisfied. The spirit of knight-errantry, so prevalent in these times, had not produced a more striking instance of firmness and generosity.

The queen, who had been driven from her kingdom by her brother-in-law, and restored by the

mediation of the pope, lost her second husband, and for some years swayed the sceptre alone. She then married a prince of Aragon, who died soon after their nuptials: at length, in 1376, when she was nearly forty-six years old, she espoused a younger son of the house of Brunswick, whose name was Otho. This was choosing a husband for her pleasure, rather than a prince capable of protecting her. The natural heir to her kingdom was Charles Durazzo, her cousin, the only remaining descendant of the house of Anjou, in Naples. These princes took their name from the city of Durazzo, which had been conquered by their family from the Greeks, and afterward taken from them by the Venetians. This Durazzo she had acknowledged as her heir; and had even gone so far as to adopt him. This adoption, and the great schism which happened in the West, hastened the unfortunate end of this princess.

The bloody consequences of this schism — of which we shall speak more fully hereafter — began already to break out. Prignano, who took the name of Urban VI., and the count of Geneva, who assumed the title of Clement VII., disputed the triple crown with the utmost fury; and Europe was divided between them. Queen Joan sided with Clement, who then resided at Avignon: and Durazzo, who thought it too long to wait for the crown till the natural death of his adopted mother, joined himself to Prignano, or Urban VI.

1380—This pope crowned Durazzo king of Naples in Rome, on condition that he should bestow the principality of Capua on his nephew, Prignano; he excommunicated and deposed Queen Joan: and the more effectually to secure the principality of Capua in his family, he bestowed all the Church benefices on the chief Neapolitan families.

His holiness then began his march with Durazzo towards Naples. The Church plate was employed in raising an army; while the queen, who could not procure aid from Pope Clement, in whose favor she had declared, nor from the prince she had chosen for her husband, was almost destitute of troops. In this situation she invited to her assistance a brother of Charles V., king of France, who was also of the family of Anjou, whom she adopts in room of the ungrateful Durazzo.

Louis of Anjou, which was the name of this new heir of the queen of Naples, arrived too late to defend his benefactress, or dispute the kingdom she had conferred on him.

This choice of the queen's alienated the minds of the people more than ever: they were naturally averse to the introduction of new foreigners. The pope and Durazzo now drew near; Otho of Brunswick, in this extremity, hastily assembled a few troops, was defeated and taken prisoner.

Durazzo made his entry into Naples; six galleys which the queen had sent for from her country of Provence, which anchored under the Castello del

Ovo, proved useless. All resistance was now too late, and flight alone appeared practicable: but even in this she failed, and fell into the usurper's hands, who, to give some color to his barbarity, declared himself the avenger of Andrew's murder. Upon this occasion he consulted Louis, king of Hungary, who still persisting in his inflexibility, sent him word, that he must by all means make the queen suffer the same death as she had inflicted on her husband, Andrew, upon which Durazzo ordered her to be stifled between two mattresses. Thus we everywhere see one crime punished by another.

Posterity, always just, as beholding without prepossession, has commiserated the fate of this princess, thinking the murder of her first husband to have proceeded rather from her weakness than the badness of her heart; seeing she was barely eighteen years of age when she gave her assent to that cruel deed; and that from that time she never was accused of debauchery, cruelty, or injustice. But her people who were the victims of all these troubles, deserve the most to be pitied. Louis, duke of Anjou, after exhausting the treasures of his brother, Charles V. of France, and impoverishing that kingdom by his vain attempts to revenge the death of Queen Joan, and to recover the inheritance she had left him, died soon after in Apulia, without having gained either success or glory, and destitute of friends and money.

The kingdom of Naples, which under King Robert had begun to emerge from its state of barbarism,

was plunged into it again by all these misfortunes, which were still more augmented by the schism in the West, which was afterward extinguished by Emperor Sigismund. Let us now take a view of the form which the empire put on about this time.

CHAPTER LVIII.

EMPEROR CHARLES IV. AND THE RETURN OF THE HOLY SEE FROM AVIGNON TO ROME.

THE empire of Germany — for in the confusion and troubles which distinguished the latter part of Louis of Bavaria's reign, there was no longer a Roman Empire — at length assumed a more settled form of government, under Charles IV. of Luxemburg, king of Bohemia, and grandson of Henry VII. who published, in 1356, at Nuremberg, the famous constitution known by the name of the "Golden Bull," from a golden seal affixed to it, which in vulgar Latin was called "*Bulla.*" This may sufficiently explain to us the reason of the popes' edicts being called bulls. The style of this charter partakes strongly of the spirit of the times. It begins by an apostrophe to Satan, anger, pride, and luxury. It says, that it is necessary the number of the electors should be seven, in order to oppose the seven mortal sins. It speaks of the fall of the angels, of paradise, of Pompey, and of Cæsar; and asserts that the government of Germany is founded on the three theological virtues, as on the Trinity.

This famous law of the empire was made in the presence, and with the consent of all the princes, bishops, abbots, and the deputies of the imperial cities, who then, for the first time, assisted at the assemblies of these Teutonic nations. These privileges of the towns, which are the natural effects of liberty, began first to be revived in Italy, afterward in England, then in France, and last of all they found admittance into Germany.

Every one knows that the number of the electors was fixed at seven. The archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Trier, who had long been in possession of the right of electing emperors, would not suffer other bishops, though equal in power to themselves, to share in this honor. But how happened it that the duchy of Bavaria was not ranked among the electorates? And why should Bohemia, which was originally a distinct state from Germany, and which by the Golden Bull was excluded from deliberations of the empire, yet continue to have a right of suffrage in the election? The reason is evidently this: Charles IV. was king of Bohemia, and Louis of Bavaria had been his enemy.

But the imperial dignity, which at that time conferred no real power in itself, never received more of that lustre which dazzles the eyes of the people, than on this occasion. The three ecclesiastical electors, all three arch-chancellors, appeared there with the seals of the empire: Mentz carried those of Germany, Cologne those of Italy, and Trier those

of Gaul, and yet the empire had nothing in Gaul but the empty homage of the remains of the kingdom of Arles, Provence, and Dauphiny, which were soon after swallowed up in the vast kingdom of France. Savoy, which then belonged to the house of Maurienne, was a fief of the empire, and Franche-Comté was under its protection, but independent.

We have already seen what the emperor's possessions in Italy were; in Germany his sovereignty was confined to his hereditary dominions, and yet he speaks in his bull like a despotic king; he does everything there "of his certain knowledge, and by the fulness of his power"; terms inconsistent with the Germanic liberty, and which are no longer suffered in the imperial diets, where the emperor expresses himself thus: "We have agreed with the states, and the states with us."

To conceive some idea of the pomp and magnificence with which this ceremony of the Golden Bull was accompanied, it will be sufficient to be informed that the duke of Luxemburg and Brabant, the emperor's nephew, presented him with his drink; the duke of Saxony, as grand-marshal, appeared with a silver measure filled with oats; the elector of Brandenburg held the water for the emperor and empress to wash; and the count palatine placed the gold dishes on the table, in presence of all the great officers of the empire.

Charles IV. appeared, on this occasion, the king of kings; and Constantine, the vainest of all the

Roman emperors, never displayed more dazzling pomp and splendor. And yet Charles, with all this affectation of the Roman emperor, had engaged himself by oath to Pope Clement VI. before his election, that when he went to Rome to be crowned, he would not lie a single night in the city; and would never again return to Italy without the holy father's permission. And there is yet to be seen a letter written by him to Cardinal Colombierus, dean of the sacred college, dated in the year 1355, in which he calls that dean "Your Majesty."

He also left the house of Visconti in the quiet possession of Milan and Lombardy, which they had usurped from him, and the Venetians in that of Padua, which had formerly been the mistress of Venice, but was now become subject to her; as likewise Vicenza and Verona.

The electors, whose rights had been settled by the Golden Bull of Charles IV., soon put them in force against his own son, the emperor Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia.

France and Germany were afflicted at the same time with a most extraordinary scourge. The emperor and the French king lost the use of their reason almost at the same time. On the other hand, Charles VI., by the disorder of his organs, occasioned that of his kingdom; and the emperor Wenceslaus so stupefied himself in gluttony and debauch that he left the empire in a state of anarchy. Charles VI. continued on the throne while his relatives

ruined France under his name. But in Bohemia, in 1393, the barons confined Wenceslaus, who one day made his escape, quite naked, out of prison; and the electors of Germany, by a public sentence, juridically deposed him in 1400. The sentence says only that he is deposed for being "negligent, idle, extravagant, and unworthy of reigning."

It is said that when he received notice of his deposition, he wrote to the imperial cities of Germany that he required no other marks of their fidelity than that they would send him some butts of their best wine.

The deplorable situation of Germany seemed to leave an open field for the popes in Italy; but the republics and principalities which were raised during the late commotions had had time to settle. From the time of Clement V., Rome had been a stranger to popes: at length Gregory XI., who was born in Limousin, and did not understand one word of Italian, removed the papal see to Rome.

1376 — This pope had high disputes with the republic of Florence, which was then establishing its power in Italy, and had entered into an alliance with Bologna. Gregory, who was, by the ancient donation of Mathilda, the immediate lord of this last city, did not confine his revenge to ecclesiastical censures, but drained his treasures to pay the *Condottieri,* who at that time furnished troops to anyone who would purchase them. The Florentines were for arbitrating matters, and gaining the pope over

to their interest. In this view, they thought it would be of advantage to them for the pope to reside at Rome: they were, therefore, if possible, to persuade Gregory to quit Avignon.

It is almost inconceivable that in times when men's understandings were so enlightened in regard to their true interests, they should have made use of means to gain their purpose, that would appear so ridiculous in the present age. They employed St. Catherine of Sienna in this negotiation; a woman who not only pretended to revelations, but even pretended to have been solemnly espoused to Jesus Christ, and to have received a ring and a diamond from Him at their nuptials. Peter of Capua, who was her confessor, and has written her life, pretends to have been eye-witness to most of these miracles. "I was witness," says he, "to her being transformed one day into the figure of a man, with a little beard upon his chin; and this figure, into which she was suddenly changed, was exactly that of Jesus Christ." Such was the ambassadress whom the Florentines sent to the pope; and they had likewise recourse to the revelations of St. Bridget, who was born in Sweden, but had settled in Rome, and to whom an angel dictated several letters which she was to write to the pope. All the popes have not been men of genius; and Gregory, whether he was a simple man, whom they influenced by means of springs proportioned to his intellect, or whether he acted from a principle of policy, or through weak-

ness, complied with their desires; and the papal residence was transferred from Avignon to Rome, after an absence of seventy-two years; but it was only to plunge Europe into new disorders.

CHAPTER LIX.

THE GREAT SCHISM OF THE WEST.

THE patrimony of St. Peter in Tuscany, the Campagna di Roma, the country of Viterbo and Orvieto, Sabino, the duchy of Spoleto, Benevento, and a small part of the march of Ancona were all that the see of Rome possessed at this time: all the countries afterward annexed to its demesne belonged to lords who were vicars of the holy see, or of the empire. Since the year 1138, the cardinals had usurped the privilege of excluding the people and clergy from the election of pontiffs; and, about the year 1216, they had made a law, that two-thirds of the votes were necessary for a canonical election. At the time I am speaking of, there were only sixteen cardinals in Rome; eleven French, one Spanish, and four Italians. The Romans, notwithstanding their passion for liberty, and their hatred to their masters, were desirous of having a pope who would reside in Rome, because they hated the French and Germans still more than they did the popes, and because the presence of the pontiff always drew riches to the city. The people, in this mood, threatened to destroy the cardinals, if they gave them a

foreigner for pope. These menaces had such an effect on the cardinal electors that, in 1378, they chose Prignano, bishop of Barri, a Neapolitan, who took the name of Urban. This was a morose and passionate man, consequently very unfit for such a dignity; and no sooner was he installed than he declared in full consistory, that he would punish the kings of France and England, Charles the Wise, and Edward III., who, he said, were disturbers of all Christendom by their quarrels. Cardinal de la Grange, a man of as violent temper as the pope himself, shaking his fist at him, told him he lied. These two words involved Europe in a confusion which lasted forty years.

Most of the cardinals, even the Italians themselves, shocked at the brutal disposition of a person so unfit for governing, withdrew into the kingdom of Naples, where they declared the election of a pope made by violence to be, *ipso facto,* null and void; and proceeded unanimously to the election of a new pontiff. On this occasion the French cardinals had the uncommon satisfaction of outwitting their Italian brethren. They promised the tiara to each Italian in particular, and after all elected Robert, son of Amadeus, count of Geneva, who, at his promotion, took the name of Clement VII.

Upon this Europe became divided. Emperor Charles IV., England, Flanders, and Hungary acknowledged Urban, who was also obeyed in Rome and Italy. France, Scotland, Savoy, and Lorraine

"A BODY OF TROOPS MARCHED INTO ITALY AND SURPRISED THE CITY OF ROME"

declared for Clement. All the religious orders were divided: the doctors all wrote, and the universities issued decrees. The two popes treated each other as antichrists and usurpers, and proceeded to mutual excommunication. But what rendered this dispute truly horrible was that they fought with the complicated fury of a civil and a religious war. A body of troops which Clement's nephew had raised in Gascony and Brittany, marched into Italy, in 1379, surprised the city of Rome, and in the first transports of their fury put to the sword every one they met. But the people of Rome recovering from their surprise, quickly rallied, and turning upon them killed every man found within the walls; after which they murdered every French priest they met. Soon after this, another army of Pope Clement's, which had been raised in the kingdom of Naples, appeared within a few miles of Rome, and offered battle to Urban's forces.

Each of these armies carried the keys of St. Peter in their ensigns. Clement's troops were defeated; but the quarrel did not end here, this dispute not being confined wholly to the interests of the two pontiffs. Urban, seeing himself victorious, was resolved to bestow the kingdom of Naples on his nephew; and for that purpose, deposed Queen Joan, the protectress of his rival Clement, who had long reigned in Naples with various success, and a sullied reputation.

The preceding chapter has shown us this princess

murdered by her cousin, Charles of Durazzo, with whom Pope Urban now wanted to divide the kingdom of Naples. But this usurper, when in quiet possession of the throne, was far from keeping his promise to a pope, who was unable to oblige him to do so.

Urban, who had more warmth than policy, had the imprudence to pay a visit to his vassal, inferior as he was in strength, and attended but with a slender retinue. The ancient ceremonial obliged the king to kiss the pope's feet, and hold his horse by the bridle. Durazzo conformed to only one of these ceremonies; he took hold of the bridle, but it was to conduct the pope to prison. Urban was detained for some time in confinement, continually negotiating with his vassal, who treated him sometimes with respect, and at others with contempt. The pope at length found means to escape from his confinement, and retired to the little town of Nocera; there he assembled the scattered remains of his court. His cardinals and some of the bishops were so tired with his morose temper, and still more with his misfortunes, that they concerted measures at Nocera for quitting him, in order to remove to Rome, and there make choice of a person more worthy of bearing the pontifical dignity. Urban, having had notice of their design, caused them all to be put to the torture in his presence. Being obliged to fly from Naples, he retired to the city of Genoa, which sent some galleys to escort him. He dragged along with

him those poor cardinals and bishops in that maimed condition, and bound in chains. One of the bishops, half-dead with the tortures he had undergone, not being able to get on shore as soon as the pope chose he should, that cruel pontiff ordered him to be murdered by the way. As soon as he arrived at Genoa, he got rid of those cardinals, his prisoners, by different kinds of punishments. We have heard of Caligula and Nero, who were guilty of crimes like these, but they met with the punishments they deserved, and Urban died peaceably at Rome in 1389. His creature and persecutor, Charles Durazzo, was more unfortunate; for, having made an expedition into Hungary, with a design to seize a crown that did not belong to him, was there murdered.

The death of Pope Urban should, in all appearance, have put an end to the civil war; but the Romans were far from acknowledging Clement. Thus the schism was kept up on both sides. The Urbanites chose Pietro Tomacelli, and he dying, they pitched upon Cardinal Migliorati. The Clementines chose Peter of Aragon to succeed Clement, who died in 1390. Never had any pope less authority in Rome than Migliorati; and Peter Luna, in a short time, was only the shadow of a pope at Avignon. The Romans, who still aimed at establishing the municipal form of government, expelled Migliorati, after a great deal of bloodshed, though they still acknowledged him as pope; and the French,

who had acknowledged Peter Luna, besieged him in his city of Avignon, in 1403, where they afterward detained him prisoner.

The assembly of the states of France formed so prudent a resolution during these times of trouble and confusion, that I am surprised it was not followed by other nations. They acknowledged neither of the popes, but each diocese was governed by its proper bishop; they remitted no annats, and owned no reservations nor exemptions; so that Rome had reason to fear lest that administration, which lasted some years, would continue forever.

Luna, previous to his election, had promised to resign his dignity, if necessary for the sake of peace, but did not keep his word. A noble Venetian, named Corario, whom they elected at Rome, took the same oath, and kept it no better. The cardinals on both sides, being at length heartily tired of the general, as well as private quarrels, with which the dispute about the triple crown was attended, agreed to call a general council at Pisa. Accordingly, they met, and twenty-four cardinals, twenty-six archbishops, a hundred and ninety-two bishops, two hundred and eighty-nine abbots, deputies from all the universities, as also of the chapters of one hundred and two metropolitan churches, together with three hundred doctors of divinity, the grand master of Malta, and the ambassadors of all the Christian princes, were present at this assembly. Here, in 1409, they made a new pope, named Peter Filargo, who took the

name of Alexander V. But the fruit of this great council was that three popes, or rather antipopes, started up instead of two. Emperor Rudolph refused to acknowledge this council; so that the confusion was greater than ever.

We cannot forbear lamenting the hard fate of Rome, who had a bishop and a prince imposed upon her against her will; and a body of French troops now came, under the command of Tanguy du Châtel, to compel her to receive a third pope. Corario the Venetian transferred his residence to Gaeta, where he put himself under the protection of Charles Durazzo, whom we call Lancelot, and who then reigned in Naples; and Peter Luna removed his see to Perpignan. Rome was sacked, but to little purpose, for the third pope, who died by the way; and from the politics which prevailed at that time, everybody believed him poisoned.

The cardinals of the Council of Pisa, who had elected him, being masters of Rome, chose in his place Balthazar Cozza, a Neapolitan. This Balthazar was a military man; he had formerly been a corsair, and had distinguished himself during the troubles which still continued to subsist between Charles Durazzo and the house of Anjou: afterward, being made legate in Germany, he grew rich by selling indulgencies, and bought a cardinal's hat, for which he paid a high price; nor did he purchase at a cheaper rate the favors of his mistress, Catherine, whom he had taken away from her hus-

band. Perhaps such a pope was the fittest for Rome in her present situation, when she stood more in need of a soldier than a divine.

From the time of Urban V. the rival popes went on negotiating and excommunicating, and all their politics centred in extorting money; but this pontiff went to war. He was acknowledged by France, and the greatest part of Europe, by the name of John XXIII. He had no occasion to fear the pope of Perpignan; but the pope of Gaeta was somewhat more formidable, being protected by the king of Naples. John, however, collected a body of troops, published a crusade against Lancelot (or Charles Durazzo) king of Naples, furnished Louis of Anjou with arms, and bestowed on him the investiture of Naples; and a battle was soon after fought on the banks of the Garigliano, in which John's party proved victorious: but gratitude making no part of the virtues of a sovereign, and reasons of state being stronger than any other considerations, the pope recalled the investiture he had bestowed on Louis of Anjou, though his benefactor, and the avenger of his cause, and acknowledged Lancelot as king, on condition he should deliver up the Venetian, Corario.

Lancelot, on his side, not willing to suffer John to grow too powerful, let Pope Corario escape; and that pontiff, after wandering about some time, retired to the castle of Rimini, which belonged to Malatesta, one of the petty tyrants of Italy. From this place,

though subsisting wholly on the benevolence of this nobleman, and acknowledged only by the duke of Bavaria, he excommunicated all the princes of Europe, and talked in the style of sovereign of the world.

John XXIII., the only lawful pope, as having been elected and acknowledged by the cardinals of the Council of Pisa and succeeded to the pope chosen by the same council, was the only pope in fact; but as he had betrayed his benefactor, Louis of Anjou, Lancelot, whose benefactor he had been, betrayed him in like manner; and, upon finding himself successful, aimed at the sovereignty of Rome. Accordingly he surprised this unhappy city, and John had hardly time to make his escape. It was fortunate for him then, that there were free cities in Italy. To throw himself, like Corario, into the arms of one of the petty tyrants, would have been making himself a slave; he therefore put himself under the protection of the people of Florence, who fought at the same time against Lancelot for their liberties and for the pope.

Lancelot's army, however, was on the point of prevailing, and the pope saw himself shut up in Bologna. In this extremity he had recourse to Emperor Sigismund, who had come into Italy to conclude a treaty with the Venetians. Sigismund, as emperor, had an opportunity of exalting his own power by the humiliation of the pope, but, on the other hand, he was the natural enemy of Lancelot,

the tyrant of Italy. John proposed to him to form a league and assemble a council, the one to expel the common enemy, and the other to confirm his own right to the pontificate. A council was in fact necessary, that of Pisa having ordered one to be called at the end of three years. Accordingly Sigismund and John issued their joint proclamation, for the holding of this council in the little city of Constance. But Lancelot opposed his victorious army to these negotiations, and nothing but an extraordinary turn of affairs could deliver the emperor and the pope from their critical situation: this happened in the death of Lancelot, in 1414.

John XXIII., thus delivered from his most implacable enemy, and having now only the emperor and the council to fear, wanted to put off the meeting of this high assembly, which may not improperly be styled the senate of Europe, and had the power of judging the supreme pontiffs; but the meeting was proclaimed, the emperor pressed for its sitting, and those who had a right to assist at it were hastening from all parts to take possession of the august title of arbitrators of Christendom.

CHAPTER LX.

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.

On the western bank of Lake Constance stands the town of that name, said to have been built by Constantine. This place Sigismund selected as the

theatre where this great scene was to be acted. Never had there been a more numerous convocation than that of Pisa: it was, however, exceeded by this of Constance.

Besides the crowd of prelates and doctors who assisted at this council, there were twenty-eight great vassals of the empire present, and the emperor himself constantly attended, as did the electors of Mentz, Saxony, the palatine, and Brandenburg, with the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, and twenty-seven ambassadors from the several courts of Europe; and every one of these vied with the others in luxury and magnificence, as appears by the number of goldsmiths, amounting to fifty, who, with all their workmen, came to settle in Constance during the sitting of the council.

There were likewise five hundred minstrels, and seven hundred and eighteen courtesans, who were protected by the magistracy. They were obliged to build a number of wooden huts to lodge all the ministers to luxury and incontinence, which these lords, rather than fathers, of the council brought in their train. No one was ashamed of these practices, as they were now as publicly authorized in every state as they had formerly been with most of the ancient nations. On this occasion the Church of France allowed every archbishop it sent to the council ten francs a day — which is equivalent to fifty livres of our present currency — eight to a bishop, five to an abbot, and three to a doctor.

Before I proceed to take a view of what passed in this assembly of the Christian states, I judge it necessary to make a short recapitulation of the principal sovereigns who reigned at that time in Europe, with the state and condition of their respective dominions.

1393 — Sigismund joined to the imperial dignity the crown of Hungary. He had been unsuccessful against Bajazet, the famous sultan of the Turks; so that Hungary being drained, and Germany divided, they were both threatened with the Mahometan yoke. He had been still worse used by his own subjects than by the Turks. The Hungarians had imprisoned him, and offered his crown to Lancelot, king of Naples; but having escaped from his confinement, in 1410, he retrieved his affairs in Hungary, and was afterward chosen head of the empire.

In France the unhappy Charles VI., who had been seized with a frenzy, enjoyed only the name of king; and his relatives employed in dismembering the kingdom to serve their own private purposes, paid little attention to what passed at the council: it was, however, to their interest that the emperor should not appear to be the master of Europe.

Ferdinand, who governed the kingdom of Aragon, supported the interests of his pope, Peter Luna.

John II., king of Castile, had no influence in the affairs of Europe; but he still espoused Luna's claim, and was master of Navarre.

Henry V., king of England, being interested as

we shall show hereafter, with the conquest of France, wished to see the pontifical power so humbled and reduced that it might never again be able to impose a tribute on England, nor interfere with the rights and privileges of crowned heads.

Rome, which had been delivered from the French troops, but still saw them in possession of the castle of St. Angelo, and was obliged to submit to John XXIII., hated the pope, and feared the emperor.

The cities of Italy were so divided that they were hardly of any weight in the balance: and Venice, aspiring to the sovereignty of Italy, took advantage of the troubles of that country and of those of the Church.

The duke of Bavaria, that he might act some part in this grand theatre, protected Pope Corario, who had taken refuge in the castle of Rimini; and Frederick, duke of Austria, who was secretly an enemy to the emperor, thought only how to frustrate his designs.

Sigismund made himself master of the council, by placing soldiers round the city of Constance, under the specious pretext of providing for the safety of the fathers.

It would have been much better for John XXIII. to have returned to Rome, where he could have been master, than to have put himself in the power of an emperor who was able to ruin him: he entered into a confederacy with the duke of Austria, the archbishop of Mentz, and the duke of Burgundy,

which completely ruined him. The emperor from that instant became his enemy; and insisted, notwithstanding his being a lawful pope, that he should lay down the tiara as well as Luna and Corario. This he solemnly promised to do in 1415, and repented his promise the moment after; for he now found himself a prisoner in the midst of that very council where he sat as president. He had now no recourse left but to make his escape; but the emperor caused him to be closely watched. The duke of Austria, desiring to favor the pope's flight, could not think of any better way to effect it than by giving the council the diversion of a tournament. In the midst of the hurry and confusion usual on these occasions, the pope made his escape in the disguise of a postilion; and the duke of Austria set out immediately after him. They both retired into a part of Switzerland which still belonged to the house of Austria. The duke of Burgundy was also ready to protect the pope. This duke was very powerful, on account of his great possessions, and the authority he had in France. Thus a new schism was on the point of being created. The heads of religious orders, who were in the pope's interest, were already retiring from Constance, and the council, by this turn of affairs, might have become an assembly of rebels. Sigismund, who had been unfortunate on so many occasions, proved successful in this. He had, as we have already observed, a body of troops at hand; with these he made himself master of all the duke

of Austria's territories in Alsace, Tyrol, and Switzerland. This brought the duke back to the council, where he asked pardon on his knees of the emperor, and promised in the most solemn manner never for the future to undertake anything contrary to his will, and resigned all his dominions to him, to be disposed of as he should think proper, in case of infidelity. The emperor upon this gave the duke his hand and pardoned him, on condition he would deliver up the person of the pope.

The fugitive pontiff was accordingly seized at Freiburg and conveyed to a neighboring castle. In the meantime the council proceeded to his trial. He was charged with having sold benefices and relics; with poisoning the pope, his predecessor; with having murdered a number of innocent persons: in short, he was accused of the most impious licentiousness, and of the highest excess of debauchery, even of sodomy and blasphemy: they, however, suppressed fifty-five articles of the *procès-verbal,* which they thought reflected too great an infamy on the pontifical character. At length the sentence of his deposition was read in the presence of the emperor, on May 29, 1415. This sentence imported that the council reserved to itself the power of punishing the pope for his crimes, according to justice or mercy.

John XXIII., who had given such proofs of courage both by sea and land, was all resignation when they came to read his sentence to him in prison. The

emperor kept him prisoner at Mannheim, for three years, where he treated him with such severity that the public began to pity him more for his sufferings than it had even hated him for his crimes.

The council having thus deposed the true pope, wanted the renunciations of those who pretended to the pontificate; Corario sent them his, but the proud Spaniard, Luna, would never yield. The council found no difficulty in deposing him; but it was an affair of greater importance to fix upon the choice of one to succeed him. The cardinals claimed the right of election as immediately vested in themselves; and the council, as representatives of the whole Christian Church, pretended to the same right. The present question was about giving a head to the Church, and a sovereign to Rome. It was but just that the cardinals, who constituted the privy council of this sovereign, and the fathers of the general council, who acted in conjunction with them as representatives of the Church, should with them enjoy an equal right of suffrage. Thirty deputies of the council joined, in 1417, with the cardinals in unanimously electing Otho Colonna, of that same family who had been excommunicated by Pope Boniface VIII. to the fifth generation.

This pope, who after his election changed his illustrious name for that of Martin, possessed all the qualities of a prince, with the virtues of a bishop.

Never had the inauguration of a pontiff been attended with greater pomp. He went in procession

to the church, mounted on a white palfrey; the emperor and the count palatine on foot, leading it by the reins, a numerous crowd of princes, and all the members of the council closed the train. When he arrived in the church, the triple crown was put upon his head, which the popes had worn for more than two centuries.

The fathers of this council did not originally meet to depose a pope; their principal object seemed to be the reformation of the Church; at least this was the chief design of Gerson and the deputies of the university of Paris.

There had been great complaints made in this council for over two years against the annats, or first-fruits, the exemptions, the reservations, and the taxes imposed by the popes on the clergy, for the profits of the holy see, and against the torrent of vice with which the Church at that time overflowed. But how did this reformation end? Pope Martin declared: 1. That no exemptions ought to be granted, without having just cause. 2. That an inquiry should be made into the reunited benefices. 3. That the revenues of vacant churches should be disposed of according to common law. 4. He made an ineffectual prohibition of simony. 5. He ordered that, for the future, those who had benefices should be distinguished by the tonsure. 6. He forbade the celebrating of mass in a lay habit. These were the laws promulgated by the most solemn assembly in the universe.

Gerson even found great difficulty in getting the following propositions condemned, viz., that in some cases the assassination of a person may become a virtuous act; that it is more meritorious in a knight than in a squire, and far more in a prince than in a knight. This doctrine of assassination had been maintained in France by one John Petit, a doctor of the university of Paris, upon the occasion of the murder of the king's brother. The council for a long time evaded Gerson's petition; at length it was obliged to condemn this doctrine of murder, though without mentioning the Cordelier, John Petit.

Such is the idea which I thought necessary to form to myself of the several political views of the Council of Constance; the fires which were afterward lighted up by a religious zeal, are of a different nature.

CHAPTER LXI.

JOHN HUSS AND JEROME OF PRAGUE.

THE portrait of general history which has hitherto been exhibited to our view evinces the profound state of ignorance in which the western world was plunged. The nations subject to the Roman Empire were, upon the desolation of that empire, reduced to a state of barbarism; the other nations had always continued so. Reading and writing were sciences very little known before the time of Frederick II., and the famous benefit of the clergy, by which a

criminal, condemned to die, obtained his pardon, if he could read, is the most striking proof of the stupidity of the times. From the great ignorance of the people, the clergy and monks had, by the means of a little knowledge, especially in religious matters, acquired that kind of authority over their minds which a superiority of understanding naturally gives a master over his scholars; and from this authority they derived all their power. There was not a bishop in Germany, or in the North, who was not a petty sovereign; not one in Spain, France, or England, but was possessed of, or disputed with their prince, part of the regal rights. Almost every abbot was a prince; and the popes, though prosecuted on all sides, were kings over all those sovereigns. At length, through the vices attendant upon luxury, and the disorders which follow ambition, the greater part of these abbots and bishops were themselves reduced to the same ignorant state with the laity. The universities of Bologna, Paris, and Oxford, which had been founded in the thirteenth century, still continued to cultivate that learning which the clergy, too much occupied with their riches, had not thought worth their while to preserve.

The doctors of these universities, who were only doctors, soon exclaimed against the scandalous lives of the rest of the clergy; and the desire of distinguishing themselves led them to the examination of those mysteries which for the public good should never have been unveiled.

He who rent this veil with the greatest fury was John Wycliffe, a doctor of the university of Oxford. This man preached and wrote while Urban V. and Clement ravaged the Church by their schism, and were publishing crusades against each other. He pretended that what France had done only for a time, in refusing to acknowledge any pope, should be made a perpetual law. This opinion was embraced by many of the English lords, who had for a long time beheld with indignation their country treated as a mere province of Rome; but it was as vigorously opposed by all those who had a share in the emoluments arising from this submission.

Wycliffe was not so much protected in his theology as in his politics: he revived the old opinions of Berengarius, which had been formerly proscribed, and maintained that nothing is to be believed that is in itself contradictory or impossible: that no accident can subsist with a subject: in a word, that the bread and wine in the eucharist still continue after consecration to be bread and wine. He was also for abolishing confession, indulgences, and the Church hierarchy. What the Vaudois taught only in secret he published openly; and his doctrine was nearly the same as that of the Protestants, who appeared a century after him, and of a sect which had been established a long time before.

His doctrine was condemned by the university of Oxford, and by the bishops and clergy; but this did not hinder its spreading. His books, though obscure

and badly written, were everywhere circulated, by the mere dint of curiosity, which the subject of the dispute and the boldness of the author had raised in all degrees of people, and which received no little weight from his unspotted manners, and purity of life. His works made their way into Bohemia, a country newly risen out of barbarism, and which from the grossest ignorance had arrived at another species of it, at that time called erudition.

The emperor Charles IV., the law-giver of Germany and Bohemia, had founded the university at Prague on the same model as that at Paris. In this university, which in the beginning of the fifteenth century contained not less than twenty thousand students, the Germans had three voices in all deliberations, and the Bohemians only one. John Huss, a native of Bohemia, who had attained to the degree of bachelor in that academy, and was confessor to Queen Sophia of Bavaria, wife of Wenceslaus, obtained of that princess that for the future his countrymen should have three votes, and the Germans only one. These latter, incensed at this change, withdrew from the university, and became so many irreconcilable enemies to John Huss. At the same time some of Wycliffe's works had fallen into his hands; and though he totally rejected the speculative doctrine contained in them, he adopted the author's passionate invectives against the scandalous lives of the popes and the bishops, against the excommunications thundered out with such levity and fury,

and, in fine, against all ecclesiastical power, in which neither he nor Wycliffe had properly distinguished between the rights and the usurpations. This step made him many more enemies, but at the same time it procured him a number of protectors, especially the queen, whose spiritual director he was. He was accused before John XXIII., and summoned to appear, in the year 1411, which summons he did not obey. In the meantime the Council of Constance assembled — in 1414 — which was to pronounce judgment upon the popes, and the opinions of men; hither he was also summoned, the emperor himself writing to the court of Bohemia, to desire he might be sent to give an account of his doctrine.

John Huss, full of confidence, repaired to the council, whereas both he and the pope should have kept away. He arrived there, accompanied by several Bohemian gentlemen, and many of his disciples; and what is most remarkable, he came with the emperor's safe-conduct, dated Oct. 18, 1414, and drawn up in the fullest and most favorable terms; but no sooner had he arrived, than he was committed to close confinement, and the council proceeded to try him at the same time with the pope. He, like the pope, made his escape, and like him was brought back again, and they were both confined for some time in the same prison.

At length he appeared before the council, loaded with chains, and was examined concerning several passages in his writings. It is certain that any man

may be ruined by wresting the meaning of his words. What teacher, what writer is sure of his life, if we condemn to the flames a person who says, "That there is but one Catholic Church, which contains all the predestined in its bosom; that a reprobate is not a member of this Church; that the temporal lords ought to oblige the priests to observe the law; and that a wicked pope is not a vicar of Jesus Christ."

And yet these and no other, were the propositions maintained by John Huss, and which he explained in such a manner as might have acquitted him, had not the council put such a sense upon them as was found necessary to condemn him. "If you do not believe the *universale a parte rei*," said one of the fathers to him, "you do not believe in the real presence." What a method of arguing was this! and on how precarious a thing did men's lives at that time depend!

Huss had not embraced any of those propositions of Wycliffe which now divide the Protestants from the Church of Rome, and yet he was condemned to perish by the flames. On inquiry into the cause of such an execution, I could never find it to be any other than that spirit of obstinacy which is generally imbibed in the schools. The fathers of the council were determined that Huss should retract his opinion, and Huss, on his side, persuaded that he was in the right, would not acknowledge himself in error. The emperor, moved with compassion, said to him: "What harm is there in abjuring errors falsely

attributed to you? I am ready this moment to abjure all kind of errors; does it follow that I have held them?" Huss, however, remained inflexible. He demonstrated the difference between a general abjuration of errors, and retracting an opinion as an error, and chose rather to be burned than acknowledge that he had been in the wrong.

The council were as obstinate as himself; but his obstinacy in rushing to certain death was heroic; whereas that of condemning him to the flames was an act of great cruelty. The emperor, notwithstanding the faith of the safe-conduct he had granted him, ordered the elector palatine to see him carried to execution; and he was accordingly burned alive, in the presence of the elector, chanting out hymns of praise to the divinity, till the flames stifled his voice.

Some months afterward, the council exercised the same severity against a disciple and friend of John Huss, named Jerome, whom we commonly call Jerome of Prague. This man was greatly superior in understanding and eloquence to Huss. He at first had subscribed to the condemnation of his master's doctrine; but being informed with what greatness of soul Huss had encountered death, he was ashamed to survive him, and having made a public retraction, he was consigned to the flames.

Poggio, the Florentine, secretary to John XXIII., and one of the first restorers of letters, who was present at his examinations and execution, says, that he never heard anything that approached so nearly

to the eloquence of the Greeks and Romans, as the speech which Jerome made to his judges. "He spoke," says he, "like Socrates, and walked to the stake with as much cheerfulness as that great philosopher drank the cup of hemlock."

Since Poggio himself has made this comparison, let it be permitted me to add that Socrates was in fact condemned upon much the same account as John Huss and Jerome of Prague, that of having incurred the hatred of the sophists and priests of his time: but how wide the difference between the manners of the Athenian Senate and those of the Council of Constance; between a cup of gentle poison, which, far from being attended with this parade of horror and infamy, suffers the citizen to die quietly in the midst of his friends, and that dreadful punishment by fire, to which the priests and ministers of mercy and peace condemned their brethren; who, though somewhat too obstinate and tenacious in their opinions, were of an exemplary purity of life, and showed a fortitude that has been the admiration of posterity!

May I be permitted likewise to observe that in the proceedings of this council a man who had been convicted of all manner of crimes, was only divested of his honors, and two persons accused of some few erroneous reasonings were condemned to the flames?

Such was the famous Council of Constance, which lasted from Nov. 1, 1413, till May 20, 1418.

Neither the emperor nor the fathers of the council foresaw the consequences of the execution of

John Huss and Jerome of Prague. Out of their ashes arose a civil war; for the Bohemians looked upon this action as an affront offered to their whole country; and imputed the death of their fellow subjects to the revenge of the Germans who had withdrawn from the university of Prague. They openly reproached the emperor with having violated the law of nations: and not long afterward, when in 1419, Sigismund attempted to succeed his brother Wenceslaus in the kingdom of Bohemia, he found, that though he was emperor and king of Hungary, the death of two private citizens barred his way to the throne of Bohemia. The avengers of John Huss amounted to the number of forty thousand, and a set of savages whom the severity of the council had rendered wild, and let loose in all the fury of mad revenge.

Every priest they met with atoned with his blood for the cruelty of the fathers of the Council of Constance. John, surnamed Ziska, which signifies "one-eyed," chief in barbarity and rank among these barbarians, defeated Sigismund in several battles. This same Ziska, having lost his only remaining eye in the engagement, still continued to march at the head of his troops, giving his orders to his generals, and assisting at their victories. He commanded his soldiers that after his death they should make a drum of his skin, which they obeyed; and his remains proved a long time fatal to Sigismund, who with difficulty could reduce Bohemia in sixteen years, though

assisted with all the forces in Germany, and the terror of Crusades.

Thus he paid for having violated his safe-conduct by sixteen years of war and desolation.

CHAPTER XLII.

EUROPE AT THE TIME OF THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE. ITALY.

If we reflect upon this council, held under the emperor's eye, and in the presence of so many princes and ambassadors, and also on the deposition of the supreme pontiff, and on that of the emperor Wenceslaus, we shall see that the Catholic nations of Europe did, in fact, form altogether an immense republic, the chiefs of which were the pope and the emperor; and whose disunited members consisted of kingdoms, provinces, and free cities, under twenty different governments.

There was no one public affair in which the pope and the emperor had not some share: and the several parts of Christendom corresponded with each other even in the midst of their discords. In fine, Europe was, upon the whole, much in the same state as ancient Greece, excepting in politeness.

Rome and Rhodes were two cities common to all the Christians of the Latin communion; and the Turkish sultan was their common enemy. These two chiefs of the Catholic world, the emperor and the pope, had in fact only imaginary greatness, not real

power. If Emperor Sigismund had not been possessed of the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, and even from these he drew but very inconsiderable supplies, the imperial dignity would have been rather a burden to him than otherwise. The imperial demesnes were alienated, and the princes and cities of Germany no longer able to pay their fines. The Germanic body was also free, although not so well regulated as it has since been by the Peace of Westphalia. The title of king of Italy was as empty as that of sovereign of Germany; the emperor not possessing a single town on the other side the Alps.

We still meet with this question: Why did not Italy insure to herself the enjoyment of her liberties, and forever exclude foreign nations? She made continual efforts toward it, and had a right to fancy, with success. She was in a flourishing condition. The house of Savoy had already begun to aggrandize itself, though it had acquired no great increase of power. The sovereigns of this country were feudatories of the empire, and counts. Emperor Sigismund, who had still the power of bestowing titles, made them dukes in 1416; and they are independent kings, though with the title of feudatories. The Viscontis possessed the whole Milanese, which became still more powerful under the Sforzas.

The industrious Florentines had rendered themselves a respectable state by their freedom, their genius, and the trade they carried on; and a great number of petty states, even as far as the frontiers

of Naples, were aspiring to liberty. Affairs in Italy remained thus from the death of Frederick II. till the time of the popes Alexander VI. and Julius II., a period of about three hundred years. But this period was chiefly spent in factious jealousies, attacks of one town against another, and usurpation of tyrants, who made themselves masters of the towns. In short, they exactly resembled ancient Greece. The arts were everywhere cultivated, and conspiracies everywhere formed: but they had not yet learned to fight as those people did at Thermopylæ and Marathon.

Look into Machiavelli's history of Castracani, the tyrant of Lucca and Pistoia, in the time of Emperor Louis of Bavaria, and you will find that the very same designs, and the same successes, fortunate or unfortunate, make the history of Italy. A private family of Verona, named Scala, seized upon the government about the end of the thirteenth century, and kept possession of it for almost a hundred years. In the year 1330 they subdued Padua, Vicenza, Treviso, Parma, Brescia, and several other territories. But in the fifteenth century there did not remain the least vestige of their power. The Visconti and the Sforzas, dukes of Milan, passed somewhat later in review; and disappeared also, never to return again. Of that number of lords who divided among them the territories of Romagna, Umbria, and Emilia, there are at present but two or three families remaining, and those subject to the pope.

If you examine the annals of the Italian cities, you will find that there was not one in which conspiracies were not carried on with as much art as that of Catiline. It was impossible in those petty states for the discontented to rise up in revolt, or defend themselves by force of arms. Instead, they had recourse to assassinations and poison. One mutiny of the people raised up a new prince, and another pulled him down. Thus, for example, the city of Mantua passed successively from the hands of one tyrant into those of another, till the establishment of the family of Gonzaga in 1328.

Venice is the only one of these states that has constantly preserved her liberty. This she owes to her watery bulwarks, and the wise form of her government. Genoa, the rival of Venice, frequently engaged and at length triumphed over her toward the end of the fourteenth century. But Genoa soon afterward fell into decay, while Venice continued rising till the reigns of Louis XII. and Emperor Maximilian, when we shall see her filling all Italy with dread, and the powers of Europe with jealousy; who all conspired for her destruction. Of all the governments in Europe, that of Venice was the best regulated, the most settled and uniform, and had only one fundamental error, which, however, was not considered as such by the senate: I mean, the want of a counterpoise to the power of the nobles, and a proper encouragement for the common people. In Venice, a private citizen could never hope

to rise by his merit, as in ancient Rome. It makes the principal merit of the English government, since the house of commons has had a share in the legislative power, that such a counterpoise is provided, and the road to honor and dignity left open to all who deserve them.

Pisa, which is at present only a depopulated city, dependent on Tuscany, was in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a famous republic and sent fleets to sea as considerable as those of Genoa.

Parma and Placentia belonged to the Visconti; the popes, after being reconciled to that family, having granted them the investiture, as they would not at that time ask it of the emperor, whose power in Italy was daily diminishing. The house of Este, which had produced Countess Mathilda, so famous for her benefactions to the holy see, was possessed at that time of Ferrara and Modena; the former of which it held of Emperor Otho I.; but the holy see still asserted a claim to it, and sometimes granted the investiture of this as well as of several other states in Romagna, which furnished an inexhaustible source of trouble and confusion.

It happened that during the transmigration of the holy see from the banks of the Tiber to those of the Rhone, there existed two imaginary powers in Italy — the emperors and the popes — from whom all the other powers received the diploma which determined their rights or their usurpations; and even after the holy see was again established in Rome,

it remained without any real power; and the emperors continued practically forgotten till the time of Maximilian. No foreign power at that time had any territory in Italy; for we cannot give that name to the houses of Anjou and Aragon, the former of which was established on the throne of Naples in 1266, and the latter in Sicily ever since the year 1287. Thus Italy, rich and full of flourishing cities, and moreover abounding with men of genius, might have put herself in a condition to have rejected the yoke of any nation. She had one advantage over even Germany, which was, that no bishop, except the pope, exercised any sovereign authority, and that, the several states being governed by secular masters, were consequently much fitter for taking the field.

If Italy was troubled with those divisions which are sometimes the consequences of public liberty, Germany was not in a more tranquil state, while the lords were continually making pretensions to one another's office. But as we have already observed, Italy never formed a body, and Germany did. The German phlegm has hitherto kept the constitution of the state sound and entire; whereas Italy, though as extensive as Germany, has never been able so much as to form a constitution; and merely from the consequences of a superior understanding and cunning, has suffered itself to be divided into a number of weak states, which have been subjected by foreign nations.

Naples and Sicily, which, under the Norman conquerors, made a formidable power, after the Sicilian Vespers became two separate states, envious of each other, and continually striving to injure each other. The weakness of Joan I. first ruined the kingdom of Naples and Provence, of which she was likewise sovereign; and the still more scandalous failings of Joan II. completed its destruction. This princess, who was the last of the race which St. Louis' brother had transplanted into Italy, was, as well as her kingdom, in a very low degree of credit during her whole reign. She was sister of that Lancelot who had made Rome tremble during those times of anarchy which preceded the Council of Constance. But Joan herself was far from being formidable. Her amours and court intrigues proved the scandal and ruin of her dominions. James of Bourbon, her second husband, who had more than once experienced her infidelity, was imprisoned for attempting to complain, and thought himself very happy to make his escape, and retire to conceal his grief, or, as it is called, his shame, in a convent of Franciscan friars, at Besançon.

This Joan II. proved, without her foreseeing it, the cause of two great events. The first was the raising of the Sforzas to the dukedom of Milan; the other, the war carried into Italy by Charles VIII. and Louis XII.

The advancement of the Sforzas is one of those caprices of fortunes which show us that this world

belongs to those who can make themselves masters of it. A country fellow, called Giacomuzzo, who had taken arms as a soldier, and changed his name to Sforza, became the queen's favorite, constable of Naples, and standard-bearer of the Church, and acquired such an immense fortune that he left money enough to one of his bastards, wherewith to conquer the duchy of Milan.

The second event, which proved most fatal to Italy and France, was brought about by adoptions. We have already seen that Joan I. adopted Louis I. of the second branch of the house of Anjou, and brother of Charles V., king of France. These adoptions, which were relics of the old Roman laws, conferred the right of succession on the person adopted, who, by virtue of such adoption, took place of the natural heir, but not without the consent of the barons, which in such cases was always necessary. Joan II. at first adopted Alphonso V., king of Aragon, surnamed by the Spaniards, the Wise and the Magnanimous. But no sooner did this wise and magnanimous prince see himself acknowledged as heir to the queen of Naples than he divested her of all authority, and even wanted to deprive her of her life. Francis Sforza, son of the illustrious peasant Giacomuzzo, first signalized himself in arms on this occasion, and by delivering his father's benefactress, proved himself deserving of the honors he afterward attained. Joan, after her deliverance, adopted Louis of Anjou, grandson of that Louis who had been so vainly

adopted by Joan I. This prince dying, in 1435, she declared René of Anjou, his brother, her heir and successor. This double adoption proved a double firebrand of discord between France and Spain; and René of Anjou, who had been called to the throne of Naples by an adoptive mother, and to that of Lorraine in right of his wife, proved equally unfortunate in both these kingdoms. He took the title of "King of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, Aragon, Valencia, and Majorca, and duke of Lorraine and Bar;" and yet he was neither of these. The multiplicity of empty titles assumed without either foundation or consequence, has thrown a confusion into our modern histories which frequently renders them disagreeable, and even ridiculous to the reader. In short, the history of Europe is an immense *procès-verbal* of marriage contracts, genealogies, and disputed letters, which make the subject appear both dry and obscure, by suppressing great events, and hindering us from coming at the knowledge of the laws and manners of nations; objects far more worthy our attention.

CHAPTER LXIII.

FRANCE AND ENGLAND, IN THE TIME OF PHILIP OF VALOIS AND EDWARD III.

ENGLAND recovered its strength under Edward I. toward the end of the thirteenth century. This prince, who succeeded his father, Henry III., was

indeed obliged to give up Normandy, Anjou, and Touraine, the patrimonies of his ancestors, but he still retained the province of Guienne, and likewise made himself master of the principality of Wales. He knew how to restrain the impetuous tempers of the English, and animate them to noble purposes; he rendered their commerce as flourishing and extensive as the nature of the times would permit. The royal house of Scotland being extinct in 1291, he had the glory of being chosen arbitrator, by the pretenders to that crown. His first step was to oblige the Scottish parliament to acknowledge that their crown was dependent on England; and afterward he nominated Baliol as king, whom he made his vassal. At length he claimed the kingdom of Scotland for himself, after having won several battles, but was unable to retain it. Then began that antipathy between the natives of England and Scotland, which, notwithstanding the union of the two crowns, is not yet entirely extinguished.

Under this prince it began to be perceived that the English would not long continue tributaries to the see of Rome; they made use of various pretences to excuse their non-payment of the taxes imposed on them by that church, and artfully evaded an authority they dared not yet openly attack.

In the year 1300 the English parliament began to take a new form, nearly the same with that it now wears. The titles of baron and peer were granted

only to those who sat in the upper house, and the house of commons began to regulate the supplies. Edward resolved to give a weight to the lower house sufficient to balance the power of the barons; and this prince, who had steadiness and dexterity sufficient to manage, and not to fear them, formed that kind of government which includes all the advantages of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy; but which at the same time had not the inconveniences of all three, and can never subsist but under a prudent king. His son proved not to be such, and England was rent in pieces.

Edward I. died as he was going to attempt another conquest of Scotland, which he had already thrice invaded, and which had as often rebelled. His son, a youth of twenty-three years of age, though at the head of a numerous army, abandoned his father's designs to devote himself to pleasures which appear more unbecoming in a king of England than in the sovereign of any other nation. His favorites had displeased the nation, especially the queen, daughter of Philip the Fair, a wanton and imperious woman, jealous of her husband, whom she betrayed. The public administration was now a scene of fury, confusion, and weakness, and a prevailing party in the parliament caused a favorite of the king's, whose name was Gaveston, to be beheaded. The Scots took advantage of these troubles, defeated the English, and Robert Bruce, being made king of Scotland, restored that monarchy.

1316 — It is impossible to act with more imprudence, and consequently more unfortunately, than Edward II. He suffered his queen, Isabella, notwithstanding the provocation he had given her, to go to France with her son, who was afterward the happy and famous Edward III.

Charles the Fair, brother of Isabella, and at that time king of France, followed the general policy of all kings, which is to sow discord among their neighbors, and encouraged his sister to make war against her husband.

Thus, under pretence that the king of England was held in a shameful subjection by a young favorite named Despenser, his wife prepared to wage war against him. While she was in France, she married the young prince, her son, to a daughter of a count of Hainault and Holland, and persuaded that count to lend her troops. At length she returned to England, and with an armed force joined the enemies of her husband. Her gallant, Mortimer, attended her, and commanded her troops, while the king and his favorite, Despenser, fled before them.

1316 — The queen, being arrived at Bristol, ordered this favorite's father, an old man of ninety, to be hanged, and afterwards inflicted the same death on the favorite himself, who fell into her hands at Hereford; and it is said they tore from him while he hung upon the gallows, those members which it was pretended he had made a criminal use of with his monarch.

After this the king, abandoned by everyone, and a fugitive in his own kingdom, is taken prisoner, carried to London, insulted by the populace, confined in the Tower, tried by the parliament, and deposed in a solemn manner. His crown was then given to his son, a youth of fourteen years of age, and the queen is invested with the regency, and a council appointed to assist her. In fine, a pension of about sixty thousand livres of our present money was allowed the king during life.

Edward II. did not survive his disgrace more than a year. At his death there were no marks of violence found upon his body, but it is said that he was killed in 1327 by means of a red-hot iron, which was thrust up his body through a pipe made of horn.

His son, Edward III., soon avenged him. This young monarch was yet a minor; but being impatient to grasp the reins of government, which he thought himself able to manage, he one day seized his mother's gallant, Mortimer, earl of March, in her own presence. The parliament condemned this favorite, as it had done Despenser, without hearing him; and he died by the hands of the common hangman, in 1331, not for having dishonored his king's bed, and for having deposed and murdered him, but for having been guilty of extortion and misdemeanors, crimes which ministers of state are always accused of. The queen was confined in a castle, with a pension of five hundred pounds ster-

ling, where she remained in solitude, and lamented her misfortunes more than her crimes.

Edward being now master, and soon after absolute master of the kingdom, began his reign by invading Scotland; but now a new scene was opened in France, and all Europe stood in suspense to see whether Edward would acquire this kingdom by right of blood or by right of conquest.

France, which comprehended neither Provence, Dauphiny, nor the Franche-Comté, was still a formidable kingdom; but its king was not yet possessed of much power. The large demesnes, such as Burgundy, Artois, Flanders, Brittany, and Guienne, which were held as fiefs of the crown, always contributed more to the uneasiness than to the grandeur of the prince.

The demesnes of Philip the Fair, with the imposts on his immediate subjects, amounted to eighty thousand marks. When he went to war with the Flemings in 1302, and almost all the vassals of France contributed toward the expense of that war, a tax of one-fifth was laid on the revenues of all secular persons, who, on account of their callings, were exempt from attending the campaign. If the people were unhappy, the royal family was still more so. Nothing is better known than the infamy to which the three sons of Philip the Fair subjected themselves at the same time, by accusing their wives of adultery in open court, who were thereupon all three ordered into close confinement.

Louis Hutin, the eldest of Philip's sons, strangled his wife, Margaret of Bordeaux. The gallants of those princesses were condemned to suffer a new kind of punishment — that of being flayed alive.

1316 — After the death of Louis Hutin (or Louis X.) who, like his father, annexed Navarre to the crown of France, the public attention was wholly engrossed by the question concerning the Salic law. This king had left only one daughter, and it had never been questioned in France whether females had a right to inherit the crown. Laws are always made for the present occasion. They had no knowledge at that time of the ancient Salic laws; but had supplied the want of them by established customs, and these customs were perpetually changing in France. The parliament under Philip the Fair had adjudged the county of Artois to a female, in prejudice to the next male heir. The succession of Champagne had been decided sometimes in favor of the females, and at other times taken from them. Philip the Fair possessed Champagne wholly in right of his wife, by whom the princes of the family were excluded.

These examples show us that right varied with fortune, and that it was far from being a fundamental law of the state to exclude the daughter from her father's throne. To say, with a number of authors, that "the French crown is so noble that it cannot admit of women," is in my opinion a puerile assertion; and to say with Mézeray, that

"the weakness of their sex does not permit women to reign," is doubly unjust; besides, the articles of this ancient law which deprives the females of all right of inheritance in Salic land seems to be founded on this, that every Salic lord was obliged to appear in arms at the public assemblies of the nation. Now a queen is not obliged to bear arms, the nation does it for her. Hence we may fairly infer that the Salic law, in other respects so little known, related to the other fiefs, and not to the crown; and so little was it esteemed a law with respect to kings, that it was ranked under the head *de allodiis,* or of allodials. Besides, if this law was made by the ancient Salians, it must have been made before there were any kings of France, and consequently could not relate to these kings.

Again, it is beyond a doubt that there were several fiefs not subject to this law, and by a much stronger reason might it be said that the crown ought not to be subject to it. These arguments were for some time maintained by the duke of Burgundy, uncle of the princess, daughter to Louis X., and by several princesses of the blood. Louis Hutin had two brothers, who, within a short time, succeeded one after another. The elder was Philip the Long, and the younger Charles the Fair. Charles at that time, not thinking he was so near to the crown, opposed the Salic law out of jealousy of his brother.

Philip the Long took care to have it declared at a meeting of barons, prelates, and burghers of

Paris, that females ought to be excluded from the crown of France. But had the opposite party prevailed, doubtless they would have enacted quite a contrary law.

This Philip, who is known for little else than having excluded the bishops from a seat in parliament, died after a short reign, and left only daughters behind him. The Salic law was then confirmed the second time; and Charles the Fair, who had so strongly opposed it, succeeded to the crown without the least dispute, and excluded his brother's daughters.

Charles the Fair, at his death, left the same cause to be again decided. He had left his queen with child, and a regent was required. Edward III. pretended to the regency, as grandson of Philip the Fair by the mother's side, and Philip of Valois took possession of it in quality of first prince of the blood; which was afterward solemnly conferred upon him, and, the queen being brought to bed of a daughter, he ascended the throne with the general consent of the nation. It appears then that this Salic law, by which all females were excluded from the crown, was a law of the heart, and had become a fundamental law by ancient and universal agreement. There are indeed no others, since all laws are made and abrogated by men. And can anyone doubt that, if it should ever happen that the blood royal of France should become wholly extinct, excepting in one princess, and she worthy of reigning, the

nation might not, and ought not, to confer the crown on her?

At that time Philip of Valois had the surname of "the Fortunate" given him by the people; he might also for a while have been called "the Just and the Victorious," for the count of Flanders, who was his vassal, having oppressed his subjects, they revolted against him, upon which Philip marched to the assistance of that prince, and when he had quelled the rebellion, he advised the count "to take care not to cause any more revolts by his ill conduct.

He might moreover be called "the Fortunate," when at Amiens he received the solemn homage yielded to him by Edward III. But this homage was soon followed by a war; Edward disputing the crown with Philip, after he had acknowledged himself his vassal.

A brewer of the city of Ghent was the principal promoter of this famous war, and the person who determined Edward to take the title of king of France. This brewer, whose name was Jacob van Artevelde, was one of those subjects whom princes should either ruin or keep fair with. The vast credit he had obtained among his countrymen made him a necessary instrument to Edward; but he would not exert his credit in behalf of the English monarch unless he would take the title of king of France, in order to make an irreconcilable breach between the two kings. Edward and the brewer

signed this treaty at Ghent long before hostilities had been commenced against France.

I shall spare myself the trouble of entering into a detail of wars, which are mostly alike, and confine myself to those things which serve to reveal the manners of the times: and here I must take notice that Edward challenged Philip de Valois to single combat, which the latter refused, saying, "It was not for a sovereign prince to fight with his vassal."

1341 — In the meantime a new event happened which seemed again to overturn the Salic law. Brittany, a fief of the crown of France, had been lately adjudged by the court of peers to Charles of Blois, who had espoused the daughter of the last duke, and the count de Montfort, this duke's uncle, had been disinherited. The laws and private interest were here in contradiction. The king of France, who, one would think, should have maintained the Salic law in the count de Montfort's cause, sided with Charles of Blois; and the king of England, who should have supported the rights of the females in Charles of Blois, declared in favor of the count de Montfort.

Upon this occasion the war was renewed between France and England. At first Montfort was surprised in the city of Nantes, and carried prisoner to Paris, where he was confined in the tower of the Louvre: his wife, the daughter of the earl of Flanders, was one of those heroines who so seldom make their appearance in the world, and from whom the

fable of the Amazons was doubtless taken. She presented herself to her husband's troops, holding her young son in her arms, with a sword in her hand and a helmet on her head. She stoutly defended the town of Hennebont, and at length, with the assistance of the English fleet, she obliged the enemy to raise the siege.

While this was passing, the English and French parties carried on the war in Guienne, Brittany, and Normandy. At length was fought the bloody battle of Crécy, between Edward and Philip of Valois, near the river Somme, Aug. 26, 1346. Edward had with him his son, the prince of Wales, called the Black Prince, on account of his brown armor and a black plume of feathers he wore on his helmet. This young prince had almost the whole honor of the day. Some historians have attributed the defeat of the French to some pieces of cannon with which the English had provided themselves on this occasion. It had been upward of ten or twelve years since the use of artillery had been introduced.

It has been a question whether this invention, which originally came from the Chinese, was brought into Europe by the Arabians who traffic on the Indian seas. I can hardly think it. It was a Benedictine monk, named Berthold Schwarz, who first discovered this fatal secret. Several, however, had almost attained it before his time. Roger Bacon, who was likewise a priest, and of the same order, had long before taken notice of violent explosions

that might be produced from saltpetre pent up. But how happened it that the French king had not cannon in his army, as well as the king of England; or, if the English had this superior advantage, why do all our historians throw the loss of the battle on the Genoese cross-bowmen whom Philip had in his pay, and whose bow-strings had been rendered useless by a sudden shower of rain; while those of the English archers were not the least affected? These historians, however, might have more justly observed that a prince who, like the king of France, hired Genoese archers, instead of training to discipline the people of his own nation, and who suffered his own army to lack cannon when that of the enemy was provided with them, did not deserve to conquer.

It is very strange that, considering the total change the use of gunpowder wrought in the art of war, we have never been able to trace the time of this change. A nation that was able to equip artillery must doubtless have been superior to all others. This was of all arts the most fatal; but, at the same time, that which required to be carried to the greatest perfection. And yet even in the time of Charles VIII., it still continued in its infancy; so prevalent are ancient customs, and such the bar which indolence throws in the way of human industry! They did not know the use of artillery in ships till the time of Charles V., and lances continued to be the chief warlike weapons in most

engagements till the latter part of the reign of Henry IV.

It is pretended that, at the battle of Crécy, the enemy had no more than two thousand five hundred horsemen in complete armor, and forty thousand foot; and that the French had forty thousand foot and nearly three thousand men at arms. Those who make the loss still less on the side of the French say that their army did not amount to more than twenty thousand men.

The count of Blois, who was one of the seeming causes of this war, was killed in this battle; and the following day the troops of the commons of the kingdom were likewise defeated. Edward, after two victories, gained within two days, took the town of Calais, which the English remained in possession of for two hundred and ten years.

This war, which was carried on at the same time in Guienne, Brittany, Normandy, and Picardy, drained both France and England of men and money. And yet that was a very unfit time for ambition to display itself in the destruction of the human species: they should rather have united against a scourge of another kind. A terrible plague, which had made the circuit of the world and had depopulated Asia and Africa, made dreadful havoc in Europe, and especially in France and England, in 1347 and 1348.

Mézeray has said after others that this plague came from China, and that there arose out of the

earth an inflammatory exhalation, in the form of a globe of fire, which, bursting, dispersed its infectious contents over the whole hemisphere. Methinks this is ascribing too fabulous an origin to so certain a calamity. In the first place, we have no instance of any such meteoric exhalations having ever caused the plague; and, in the second place, the Chinese annals make no mention of any contagious distemper, except that in the year 1504. The plague, properly so called, is a malady peculiar to the climate of the middle part of Africa, as smallpox is to Arabia, and the poison which infests the springs of life, to the Caribbee Islands. Every climate of this wretched globe, in which nature has everywhere blended the evil with the good, has its particular poisons. This plague, which made such havoc in the fourteenth century, resembled those which depopulated the world under the reign of Justinian, and in the time of Hippocrates; and during the continuance of this heavy scourge, King Edward and Philip of Valois fought only for the mastery over expiring subjects.

After a series of so many calamities, after the elements and the unbridled fury of ambitious men seemed to have combined to desolate the face of the earth, it is astonishing to see Europe in so flourishing a condition. The only resource left for mankind in those times of universal distress was the towns which were beneath the notice of the great lords. There industry and commerce repaired in

secret the evils which the princes of the world perpetrated with so much noise and ostentation. England, during the reign of Edward III., abundantly repaid herself the immense sums she had been obliged to lavish in support of her monarch's enterprises. She found a market for her wool at Brussels, the inhabitants of which manufactured it. The Flemings likewise employed themselves in various manufactures. The Hanse towns formed a republic useful to mankind; and the arts maintained their footing in all the free and commercial cities of Italy. These arts only require to spread themselves to increase; and after the fury of the general storm is over, they transplant themselves, as it were, of their own accord, into those desolated countries which stand in need of them.

1350 — During this situation of affairs Philip of Valois died, far from carrying with him to his grave the title of "Fortunate," though he had annexed Dauphiny to the kingdom of France. The last prince of this country having lost all his children, and being tired of the wars which he had maintained against Savoy, gave Dauphiny to the king of France in 1349, and became a Dominican friar at Paris.

This province, so named from one of its kings having taken a dolphin (in French called *dauphin*) for his arms, made a part of the kingdom of Arles, which was one of the imperial demesnes; so that the king of France became by this acquisition a feuda-

tory to Emperor Charles IV. We know for certain that the emperors always claimed a right of jurisdiction over this province, till the time of Maximilian I., and the German civilians insist to this day that it ought to depend as a fief on the empire. Its princes, however, think differently. In fact, nothing is more vain than researches of this nature; and they might as well assert that the emperors have a claim to Egypt, because Augustus was once master of it.

Philip of Valois had also increased his demesnes by the accession of the provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne, which a king of Majorca, of the house of Aragon, had mortgaged to him for a sum of money, and which Charles VIII. restored again, without being reimbursed. He also made the acquisition of Montpellier, which has ever since continued in the house of France.

It may appear surprising that Philip, during so troublesome a reign, should have been able to purchase these provinces, besides paying so much money for Dauphiny. But the duties upon salt, which the people called Philip's Salic Law, the augmentation of the taxes, and the frequent alteration of the coin, had enabled him to make these purchases, by which the state indeed became increased, but was at the same time greatly impoverished; and although this prince had at first the appellation of "Fortunate," his subjects had never the least claim to that title;

and yet, under the reign of his son John, they regretted even the times of Philip of Valois.

The most interesting affair, with respect to the people, during this reign, was the law of writs of error which the parliament gradually introduced, with the assistance of the attorney-general, Peter Congnières. The clergy made loud complaints against this act; but the king contented himself with winking at this new custom, and would not oppose a remedy, which added a fresh support to his authority, and the laws of the realm.

A writ of error, which is to be lodged in the courts of parliament of the kingdom, takes place upon cause of complaint for any unjust or insufficient sentence given by the ecclesiastical courts; any declaration which destroys the royal jurisdiction, or an opposition made to the pope's bull, which may be contrary to the rights of the king and kingdom.

This state remedy, or rather palliative medicine, was no other than a weak imitation of the famous statute of *præmunire,* enacted by the Parliament of England in the reign of Edward III., by which statute every one who prosecuted a cause in an ecclesiastical court, which properly fell under the cognizance of the king's courts, was punished with imprisonment. The English have generally set an example to other nations in all matters relative to the liberties of the state.

CHAPTER LXIV.

FRANCE UNDER KING JOHN.

1354—This reign proved still more unfortunate to France than the preceding one. John, who was surnamed "The Good," began his reign with ordering the count d'Eu, his constable of France, to be assassinated in his own palace. Soon after his cousin and son-in-law, the king of Navarre, ordered the new constable to be murdered. This king of Navarre, Charles Petit, who was son of Louis Hutin, and king of Navarre in his mother's right, and a prince of the blood by the father's side, was, as well as King John, one of the scourges of France, and well deserved the title of Charles the Bad.

1355 — The king, after having been obliged to pardon him in full parliament, caused him to be apprehended for a much smaller crime, and, without any form of trial, ordered four of his friends to be beheaded. These dreadful executions were the consequences of a weak government, which produced cabals; these cabals brought on acts of the blackest revenge, which ended in a severe but untimely repentance.

John, being in want of money, had begun his reign with renewing the false coin which had been current in his father's time, and had threatened to put to death the officers intrusted with this secret. These abuses were at once the effects and proofs of a dis-

astrous time; misfortunes and abuses produce at length salutary laws. France was for some time under the same kind of administration as its neighboring kingdom, England. The kings called a general assembly of the states; this assembly had been substituted in the place of the ancient parliaments of the kingdom. These general assemblies were exactly the same with the parliaments of England, being composed of nobles, bishops, and deputies from the several towns; and that which was called the New Parliament, and sat at Paris, was nearly the same as the court of the king's bench in London. The chancellor was the second officer of the crown in both kingdoms. In England he spoke for the king in the general assembly of the states, and had a right of superintendency over the court of king's bench. He was the same in France; and what proves beyond contradiction that the administration was carried on upon the same principles, both at Paris and at London, is that the assembly of the states of France in 1355 enacted, and obliged King John to sign, almost the same kind of regulations, nay almost the same kind of charter as that which the barons of England obliged their King John to sign. The supplies, the nature and term of these supplies, and the values of the specie, were all regulated in this assembly. The king obliged himself not to compel the subject for the future to furnish provision for his household, unless paid for it; never to make any alteration in the coin, etc.

This assembly of the states in 1355, which was the most memorable of any ever held in France, has been taken the least notice of by our historians. Father Daniel says that it was held in the hall of the new court of parliament. But here it will be necessary to observe that the parliament was not at that time perpetual, and had no place in this great assembly of the states. In fact, the provost of the merchants of Paris, being in virtue of his office the natural deputy of the first city in the kingdom, was speaker for the third state.

There is one essential point in history which has been passed over in silence: this is, that the states granted a supply of about one hundred and ninety thousand marks of silver for paying thirty thousand gendarmes; this makes about nine million five hundred thousand livres of our present money. These thirty thousand gendarmes were part of an army of at least eighty thousand men, to which the commons of the kingdom were also to be added, and at the expiration of the year another supply was to be provided for the maintenance of the same army. Lastly, we must observe that this great charter proved only a temporary regulation in France; whereas it was made an established law in England.

At length the Black Prince, with a small but formidable army, advanced as far as Poitiers, and ravaged all those territories which had formerly made part of the demesnes of his ancestors. King John, at the head of sixty thousand armed men,

immediately flew to meet him; whereas had the French king declined coming to an engagement, it is obvious to every one that he might have starved the whole English army.

If the Black Prince committed a fault in advancing too hastily, John was guilty of a much greater one in attacking him. The battle of Poitiers, or Poictiers, greatly resembled that which had formerly been lost by Philip of Valois. There was order and discipline in the army of the Black Prince, whereas the French had only courage; and this was overcome by the superior courage of the English and Gascons who fought under the prince of Wales. We do not find it said that cannon was made use of by either army in this battle. The silence of writers in this respect leaves room to doubt whether there was any used at the battle of Crécy; or, at least, it proves that if there was, it had proved of very little effect, and upon that account they had discontinued the use of it: it may likewise serve to show how apt men are to slight advantageous discoveries on account of their novelty, and for the sake of adhering to an old established custom; or, lastly, it is a tacit reflection on the negligence and inaccuracy of historical writers.

Most of the French knights were slain in this battle; the rest fled; and the king, being wounded in the face, was taken prisoner with one of his sons. It is worthy of notice that this monarch surrendered himself to one of his subjects whom he had ban-

ished, and who on this occasion served against him in the enemy's army. The same thing happened to Francis I.

The Black Prince conducted his two royal captives to Bordeaux, and thence they were conveyed to London. It is well known that upon this occasion he behaved with the utmost tenderness and respect to the king of France. His moderation added new lustre to the glory he had acquired by his valor. He made his entrance into London upon a little black horse, and rode on the left hand of his prisoner, who was mounted on a horse of remarkable beauty, and ornamented with the richest trappings.

The king's confinement proved the signal of a civil war in Paris; every one was immediately for forming a party. Factions are generally established upon the pretext of reformation. Charles, the dauphin of France, who was afterward the wise King Charles V., was declared regent of the kingdom; but it was only to see almost the whole kingdom revolt against him.

Paris at that time was a formidable city of fifty thousand men able to bear arms. On this occasion they first invented the use of chains in the streets, which served for intrenchments against the revolters. Charles, the dauphin, now found himself obliged to release the king of Navarre, whom his father had confined in prison. This was, in fact, letting loose an enemy against himself. The king of Navarre arrived at Paris in 1357, and arrived to blow the

coals of sedition. Marcel, provost of the merchants of Paris, entered the Louvre at the head of the malcontents, where he caused Robert de Clermont, marshal of France, together with the marshal of Champagne, to be massacred before the dauphin's eyes. In the meantime the peasants assemble from all parts, and in the hurry of the tumult fall upon all the gentlemen they meet with in their way, treating them as revolted slaves may be supposed to treat those severe masters who happen to fall into their hands, avenging themselves upon them by a thousand cruel punishments for the meanness of their condition, and the miseries they had suffered; and they even carried their brutal fury so far as to roast a nobleman in his castle, and to compel his wife and daughters to eat the flesh.

During these commotions in the state, Charles of Navarre aspired to the crown, and the dauphin and he waged war, which ended only in a dissembled peace. Thus was the unhappy kingdom rent in pieces for four years after the battle of Poitiers. How comes it that Edward and his son did not take advantage of their victory, and the misfortunes of the conquered? It seems as if the English were afraid their prince should grow too powerful, and therefore they were tardy in their supplies. Thus Edward was treating about the ransom of his prisoner, while the Black Prince was concluding a truce.

It is evident to me that there were faults committed on both sides. But I cannot comprehend why

all our historians should have been weak enough to assert that Edward III., having come into France in 1360 to reap the fruits of the two victories of Crécy and Poitiers, and having advanced within a few leagues of Paris, was suddenly struck with a holy panic, occasioned by a violent shower of rain, and that, falling upon his knees, he made a vow to the holy Virgin to grant the French terms of peace. When was it ever known that a shower of rain determined the wills of conquerors, or the fate of nations? If Edward III. did make any vow to the Virgin Mary, it was doubtless such a one as was for his own advantage; for he demanded for the king's ransom Poitou, Saintonge, Agénois, Périgord, Limousin, Quercy, Angoumois, Rouvergue, and all that he had possessed himself of in the neighborhood of Calais; the whole in full sovereignty. I am surprised that he did not at the same time insist upon Normandy and Anjou, his ancient patrimony. He further demanded the sum of three million gold crowns.

Edward, by this treaty, ceded to John the title of King of France, together with all his rights to Normandy, Touraine, and Anjou. It is certain that the ancient demesnes which the kings of England had formerly possessed in France were much more considerable than what was yielded to Edward by this treaty; and nevertheless this was a fourth part of the kingdom.

At length John was released from his four years' confinement in the Tower of London, upon deliver-

ing up his brother and two of his sons as hostages. One of the greatest difficulties was to raise the money for his ransom. He was to pay six hundred thousand gold crowns for the first payment, and he well knew that France was so impoverished that she could not raise that sum. In this exigency, he was obliged to recall the Jews, and to sell them the privilege of living and trading in the country. The king himself was obliged to pay for the necessaries of the household with leathern money, in the middle of which there was a little silver nail. The poverty and misfortunes of this prince stripped him of all authority and his kingdom of all good government.

The soldiers who were disbanded, and the peasants, who had in the late troubles learned something of the art of war, formed themselves into parties in the different provinces, but especially beyond the Loire. One of their chiefs took the name of "The friend of God, and enemy to all the world." A fellow named John de Gouge, a burgher of Sens, caused himself to be declared king by these banditti, and did almost as much mischief to the kingdom by his depredations as the true king had done by his misfortunes. In fine, what is most surprising, the king, in the midst of this general desolation, made a journey to Avignon, where the popes then resided, to revive the ancient projects of the Crusades.

A king of Cyprus had lately come to solicit this expedition against the Turks, who already began to spread themselves over Europe. Probably King

John was only desirous to leave his native country; but instead of undertaking this ridiculous voyage against the Turks, finding himself unable to discharge the remainder of his ransom to the English, he returned to London, to surrender himself as hostage in the room of his brother and his children. There he died in 1363, and his ransom was never paid. To complete his humiliation, it is said that his sole motive for returning to England was to see a woman whom he had fallen in love with at the age of fifty-six.

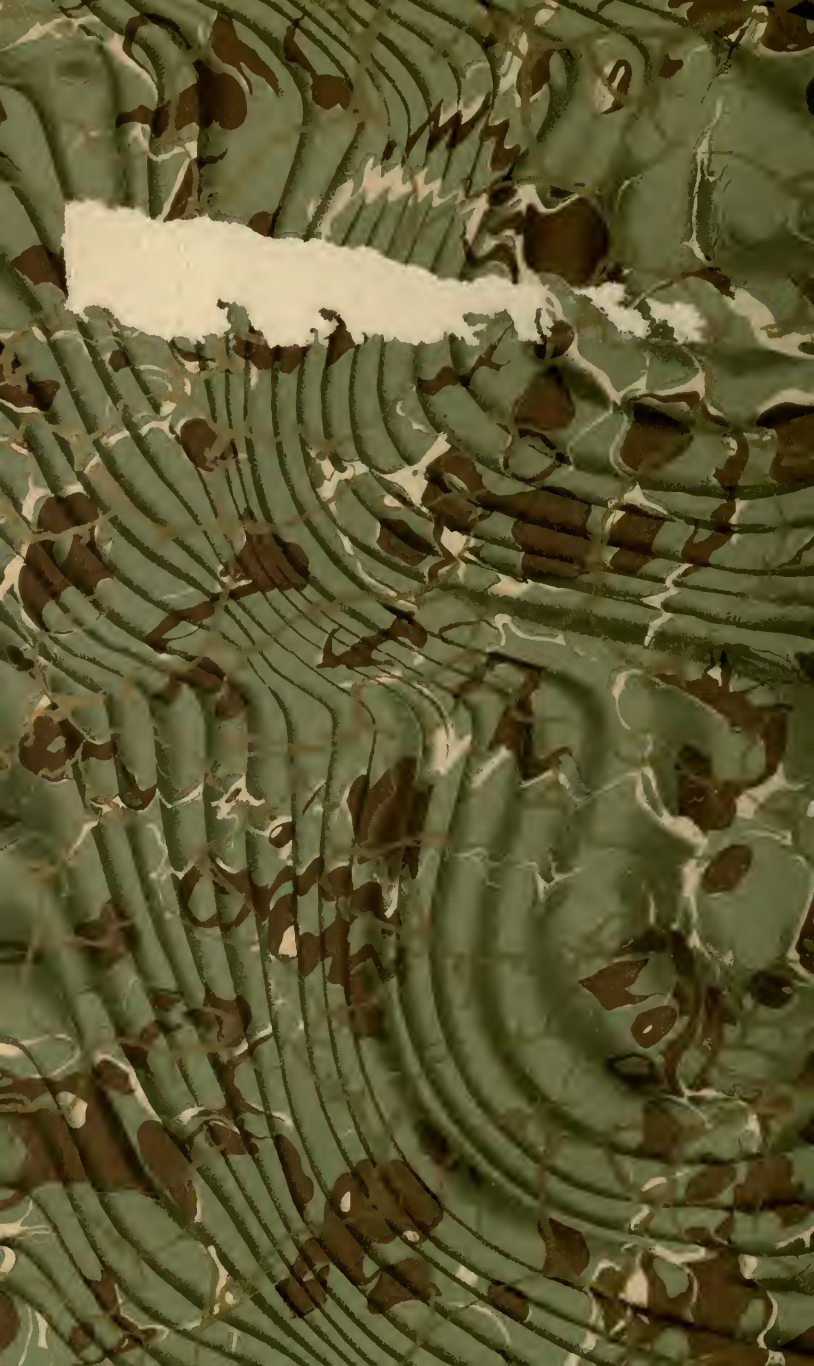
Brittany, which had been the cause of this war, was abandoned to its fate. The count of Blois, and the count de Montfort, disputed this province with each other. Montfort, just returned from his confinement at Paris, and Blois from his at London, decided their quarrel in a pitched battle fought near Auray in 1364, when the English again prevailed, and the count of Blois was slain.

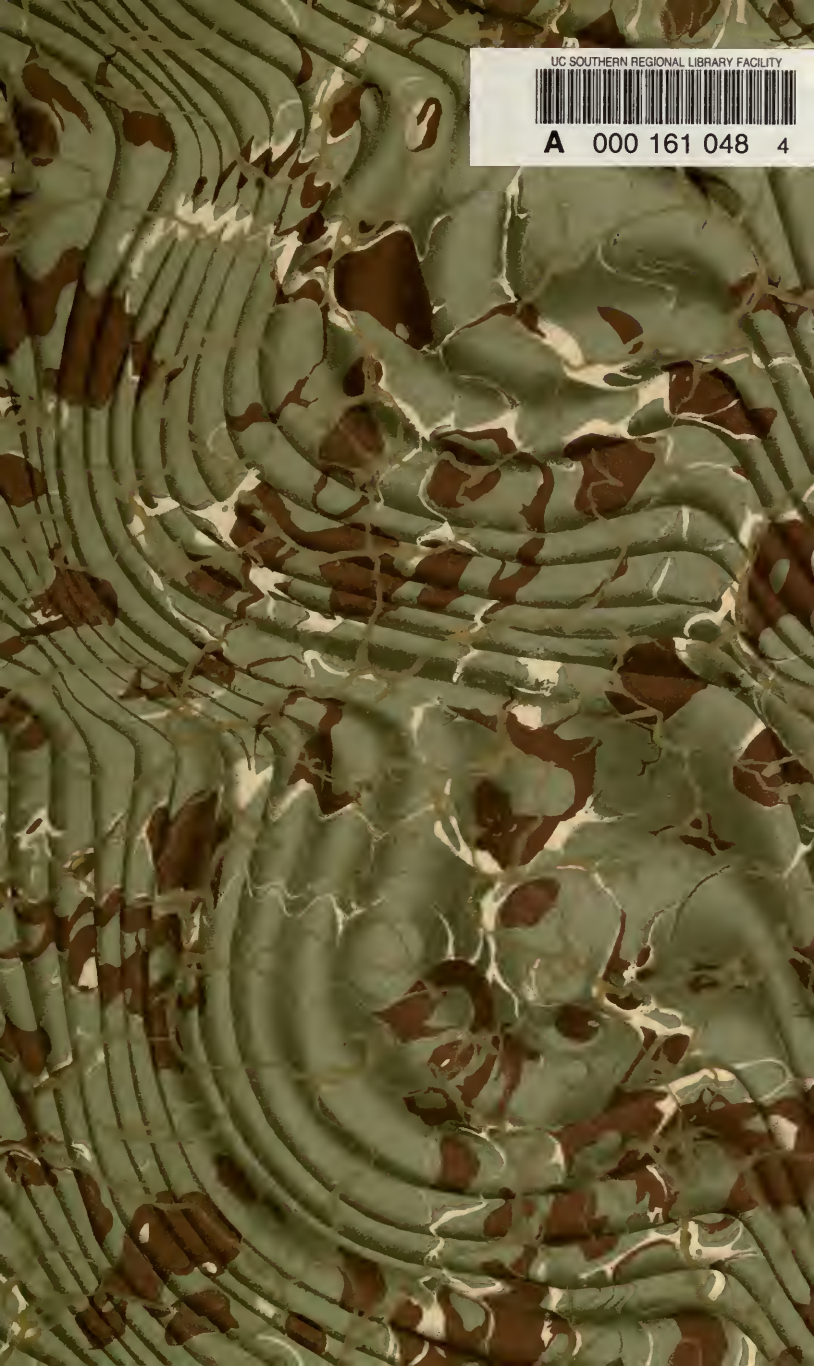
These times of ignorance, sedition, rapine, and murder, were, however, those in which chivalry shone with greatest lustre. As this institution served in some measure to counterbalance the general brutality of manners, we shall consider it apart. Honor and generosity, joined with gallantry, were its fundamental principles. The most celebrated feat of arms in the annals of chivalry is the combat between thirty Bretons against twenty English, six Bretons and four Germans, which happened at the time that the countess of Blois, in the name of her

deceased husband, and Montfort's widow, in the name of her son, carried on war against each other in Brittany, in the year 1351. This famous combat was concerning a point of honor, and took its rise at a conference held about a treaty of peace. At this meeting, instead of deliberating upon the matter in hand, both sides began to brave each other; and Beaumanoir, who was the chief of the Bretons that were for the countess of Blois, proposed a combat, to decide which had the handsomest mistress. Accordingly, the challenge being accepted, the combatants, to the number of sixty, met upon a spot of ground enclosed for the purpose. Of the sixty combatants there were five knights killed, one on the side of the Bretons, and four of the English. This confirms a remark we have already made, namely, that the complete armor of those times rendered the wearer in a manner invulnerable, and that it was much easier to throw a knight to the ground than to kill him when he was down. But all these feats of arms were of no real service; for they neither contributed to the better disciplining the troops, nor remedied the abuses of an almost savage administration. Had the Pauli Æmilii and the Scipios of Rome fought hand to hand with their enemy, to determine who had the handsomest mistress, the Romans would never have been the conquerors and lawgivers of the world.

At the time when Charles V., surnamed The Wise, came to the crown of France, he found the king-

dom exhausted and desolate, and was therefore obliged to have recourse to patience, to intrigues, and to negotiations, as the most effectual means of repairing the mischief which had been caused by his father's misfortunes. But the Black Prince, now absolute master of Guienne, which his father had bestowed on him in full sovereignty as a reward for his valor, soon added new laurels to those he had already won in the fields of Crécy and Poitiers.

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